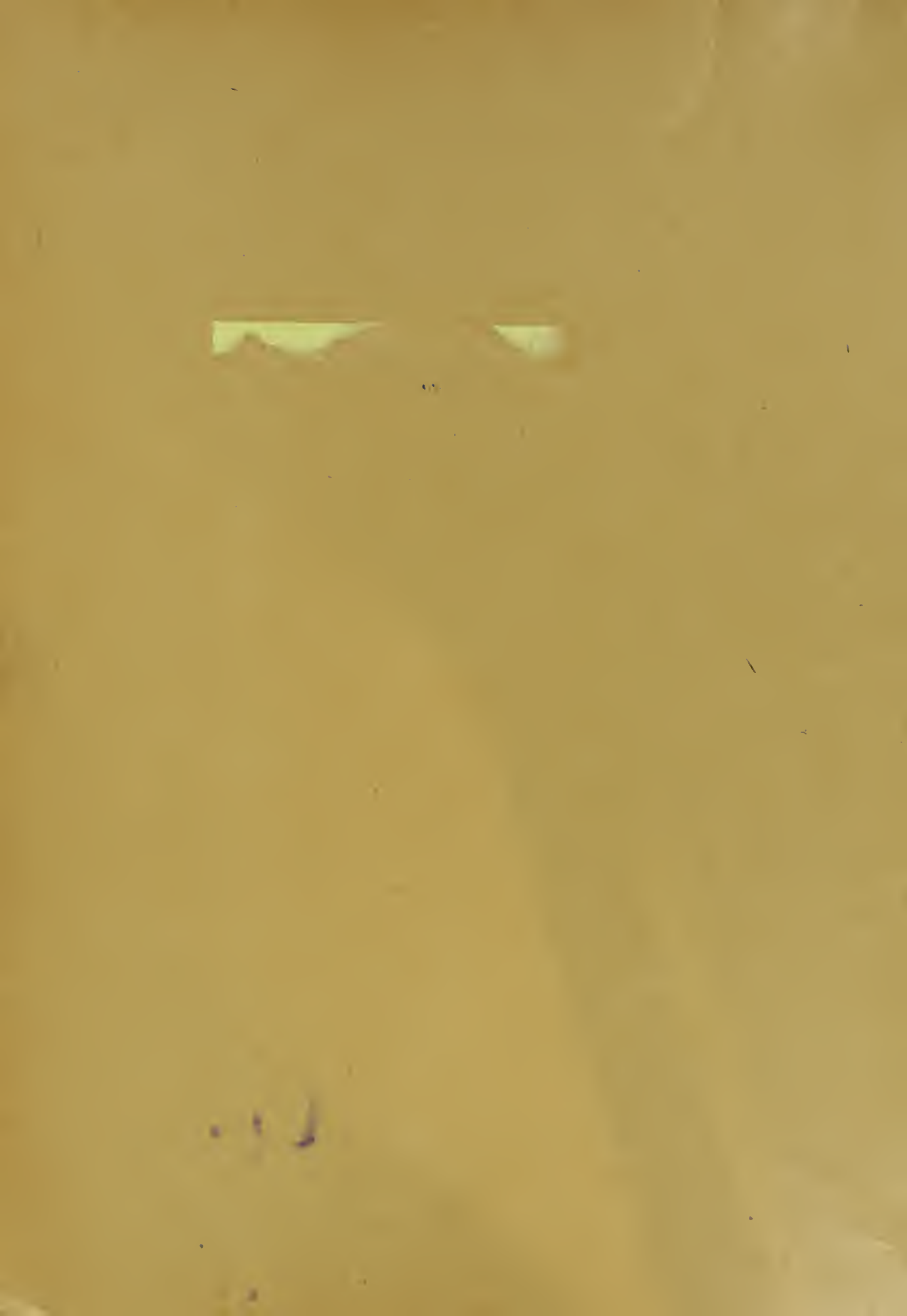


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N O T E

The author of the following manuscript, Yasuza Sakagami, received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Illinois in 1905, submitting a thesis entitled "Constitutional Growth and Political Parties in Japan". When Doctor Sakagami left the University he took the manuscript of his thesis with him, contrary to University regulations, and later, according to his statements, it was destroyed in a fire in a printing office in Tokyo. He has now submitted this manuscript in lieu of the original.

November 1, 1922.

The above "Note" is supplied by Mr.
C. M. McConn. of the President's office,
Nov. 1, 1922.

Phd

CHAPTER 1.

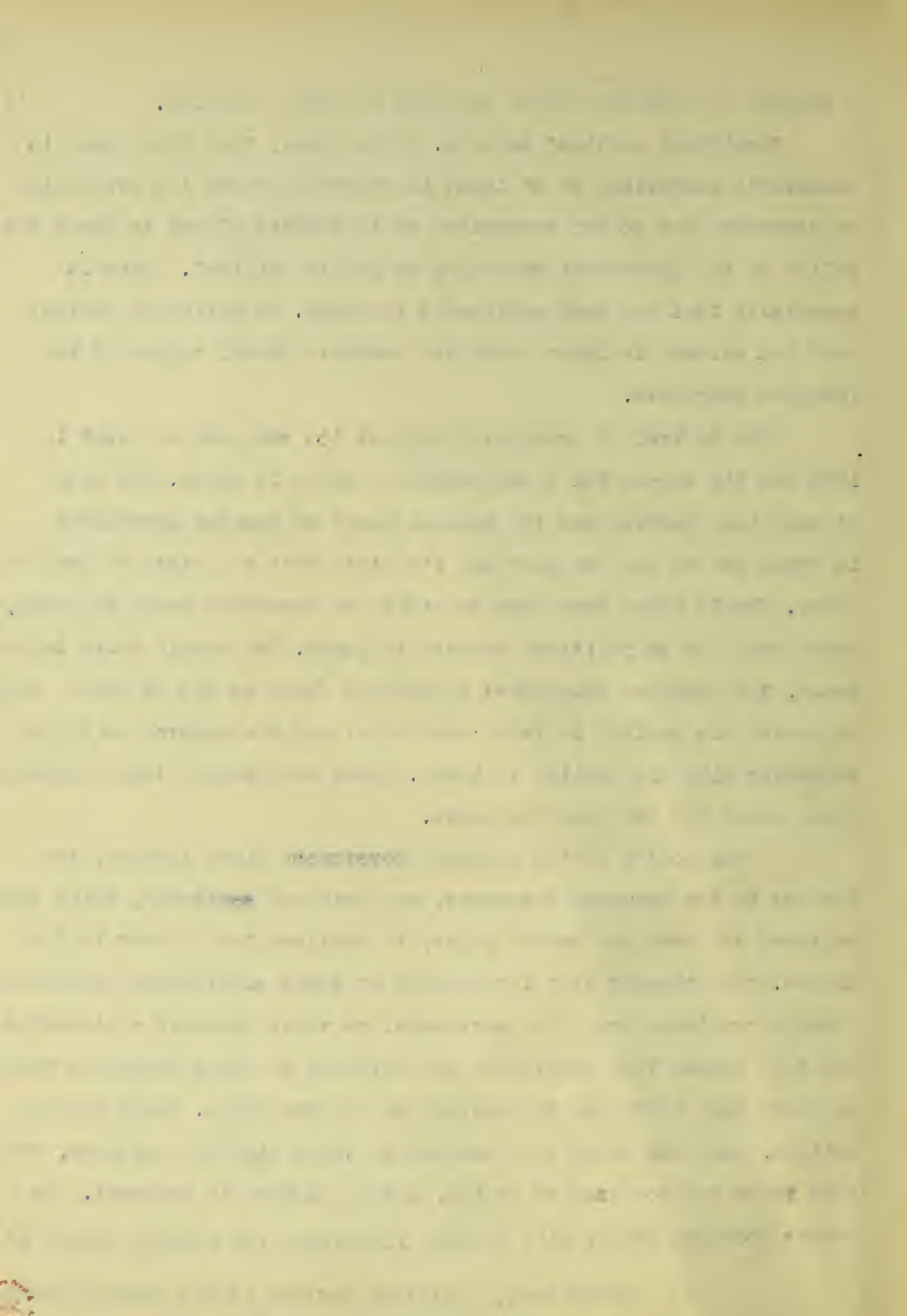
ARRIVAL OF COMMODORE PERRY AND RISE OF PUBLIC OPINION.

"Political parties" says Dr. Jessey Macy, "are found only in democratic countries, or at least in countries where the principles of democracy are so far recognized as to ^{sustain} effort to shape the policy of the government according to public opinion⁽¹⁾". This is especially true and very applicable in Japan. No political parties ever had existed in Japan under the despotic feudal regime of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The arrival of Commodore Perry at the sea gate of Uraga in 1853 was the signal for a new political epoch in Japan. The rise of political parties and the establishment of popular government in Japan may be said to have had its birth with the visit of Commodore Perry. Should there have been no visit of Commodore Perry to Japan, there would be no political parties in Japan. For nearly three hundred years, the Tokugawa Shogunate controlled Japan as the de facto sovereign with his capital in Yedo (Now Tokyo) and the Emperor as the de jure sovereign with his capital in Kyoto. There were nearly three hundred clans under the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The policy of the Tokugawa government since Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, was national seclusion, which they believed the best and safest policy to continue their power in the Empire. They thought that intercourse of their subordinate clans with foreign countries would be detrimental to their despotic administration. For this reason they prohibited the building of large ships and their subjects were forbidden to navigate on the far ocean. Among foreign nations, only the Dutch were allowed to trade with the Japanese, but that trade was confined to Dejima, a small island in Nagasaki. The famous Morrison affair will clearly illustrate the foreign policy of

(1) Jessey Macy, Political parties in the United States, P.1.



the Tokugawa Shogunate, as a most fitting example. In 1837, a British vessel called "Morrison" brought twelve rescued Japanese fishermen to Japan, but the government took the stand that no more rescued Japanese heresafter should be brought to Japan owing to the seclusion policy of country.

Pride and prejudice begotten of ease and ignorance nourished by the peace and seclusion of three hundred years under the regime of the Tokugawa Shogunate had a rude awaking by the arrival of Commodore Perry. Immediately after the arrival of Commodore Perry, the Shogun sent urgent letters to his subordinate clans, asking them to come to Yedo at once to present their opinion whether or not Japan should be opened to foreign intercourse as Commodore Perry demanded. This was soon proved to be a fatal blow to the Shogunate.

" At the zenith of its power, the Tokugawa government was strong enough to rule the country, leaving only purely local affairs to the discretion of the feudal lords. ⁽¹⁾ The national policy was dictated from Yedo and enforced by the Yedo authority. ["] For three hundred years, the Shogun had never consulted his subordinate clans on any questions. The visit of Commodore Perry was too big question to the Shogun as it had thrown the country into a chaos of confusion and the cry "Away with the foreigners!" rang the throughout the country. Both officials as well as people were for the expulsion of the foreigners to shutting all the ports to them. This action of the Shogun, was, therefore, only an outcome of his weakness and was to evade the responsibility. Instead of acting up to the autocratic authority invested in the Shogun, his government attempted to make the clans share the responsibility ⁽²⁾ of opening the country to foreign intercourse.

(1) W.W. McLaren, Japanese government documents P. 20. X X

(2) Takegoshi, History of New ~~Japan~~ Japan, Vol. 1. P. 36.

The question of bringing the country into foreign relations served for the first time in the history of Japan as the occasion for manifesting four great political camps of the exclusionists, anti-seclusionists, Imperialists and pro-Shogunate. But the political party as it is understood in a constitutional country possessed of a platform, never existed in Japan until 1881 when the imperial proclamation for establishing the national ^{assembly} was promulgated.

Though there were four political camps, Imperialists and exclusionists worked hand in hand. Their object to exalt the Sovereign, and "expel the foreigners" was only a means of their policy.

The leader of these camps was Mito Mariaki, Lord of Mito, who argued that should Japan be open into foreigners, they would bring Christianity to Japan though their primary purpose ought be for opening foreign trade, and that Christianity would bring disorder to Japan since the history of the past would illustrate this fact.

The leader of the anti-seclusionists was Yokoi Shonⁿ, who strongly opposed the policy of seclusion, saying that the conditions of the world would not allow a hermit policy by one nation. The permanent policy of Japan was to open up the country, adopting the western civilization, and following their institutions.

Amid the burning discussion of the four great political camps, the Shogunate adopted a policy of opening up the country to foreign intercourse after the seclusion of three hundred years. He opened the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate to America. By this foreign policy the Tokugawa Shogunate changed from seclusion into an open policy. Those who were taken an antagonistic attitude toward the Shogunate had now assembled under the banner of the exclusionists and anti-Shogunate, who finally succeeded in overthrowing Shogunate in 1868, thus returning the ruling power of the country into the Imperial Throne and the Emperor was suddenly thrust forward into the position

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of a de facto sovereign . With the fall of the Shogunate, the despotic form of the government has ceased and the principles of democracy have now appeared everywhere in the institutions of the new government.

The new Meiji government which was established after destroying the despotic feudal government was in highest esteem from its beginning on the ideas of free speech and public opinion. Various institutions of the government were thus established in accordance with these principles. On the other hand, the idea of popular representative government had sprang up among educated people. The word public opinion was the slogan of the day. On Jan.16,1868, an Imperial edict was issued on this effect which was as follow:-

"Now that Tokugawa Keiki has restored the administrative authority to the Court, the Court directly controls the Imperial policy, quite free from bias, laying great/stress on public opinion". As the first step of the change in the organic institutions of the new government, the *Sanshoku*, the three offices of the central government, were set up to control the administration on January 17,1868. The three offices were the *Sosai*, the office is to be held by a single person who exercises supreme control in all matters, the *Gijo*, consists of ten in number, two Princes, three Court nobles and five Daimyo, whose work was to consult and decide performing the functions of heads of departments, and the *Sanyo*, councillors of the second class, being twenty in number, five Court nobles and fifteen clansmen of the leading clans. The object of the administration was to give the high positions in the government not only to the Court nobles, but to feudal lords as well as to Samurai, selecting the best and capable men from different classes. This might be considered as the origin of the present system of the representative government in Japan.

The famous Imperial oath was issued on March 14, 1968, in order to ascertain the national desire, which was as follows:-

1. An assembly widely convoked shall be established, and thus great stress shall be laid upon public opinion.
2. The welfare of the whole nation shall be promoted by the everlasting efforts of both the governing and the governed classes.
3. All subjects, civil and military officers, as well as other people shall do their best, and never grow weary in accomplishing their legitimate purposes.
4. All absurd usages shall be abandoned; justice and righteousness shall regulate all actions.
5. Knowledge shall be sought of all over the world, and thus shall be strengthened the foundations of the Imperial policy. ⁽¹⁾

This may be regarded as the starting point of the movements towards the Parliamentary institution; and establishing of political parties.

The new government has adopted the Imperial Oath as a guide and the Daijokwan, Constitution, was created, to which centers all power and authority in the Empire. The power and authority of the Daijokwan was three fold, Legislative, executive and judicial. The legislative provided a deliberative assembly, which was divided into an Upper and a Lower House. The Upper House consists of Gijo, Princes of the Blood, Court Nobles, territorial Nobles who are eligible for this office and two chief ministers of State; 2, Sanyo, Nobles of the Court, territorial Nobles and their councillors, two-sworded men who are eligible for this office, 3, Four secretaries and 4, clerks. The Lower House consists of two presidents of debate and ordinary ⁽²⁾ members.

(1) W.W. McLaren, Japanese Government Documents, P. 8

(2) Hashihara, History of Meiji Era, vol. 1 P. 193.

This was the constitution in those days, adopting the system of three divisions of the government by Montesquieu, but owing to the weakness of the new government, the system did not work well. The legislative department was in many cases embraced under the hand of the executive.

The Kogisho, a national deliberative assembly, was established on March 3, 1868. The number of the Koshi who represent the clan opinion in the national assembly is fixed as follows:-

1. Three members from each clan of 400,000 koku or more.
2. Two members from **every** clan of 10,000 koku but less than 400,000 koku.
3. One member from every clan of 10,000 koku but less than 100,000 koku.
4. All members are to be appointed by their lords.

"The Koshi are clansmen selected by their lords and sent by them to the deliberative assembly; they are in fact members of parliament. The object is to arrive at the opinion of the majority. The number is fixed but the period of their service unlimited, and they obey the directions of their lords." (1) As long as they are under the direction of their respective lords, the Kogisho would not do the work of real popular assembly by public opinion, required by the people, and their power was taken by the executive department.

(1) The Japan Herald, April 18, 1868.

CHAPTER 11

INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN IDEAS.

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 was started on the basis of public opinion and its fundamental objects were ultimately realized. But there were partly responsible for the introduction of western civilization and liberal ideas, which caused the establishment of political parties. Therefore I shall here state how young men of Japan were eager to introducing the western ideas in early years of Meiji. With the growth of public opinion, young men of progressive ideas were eager to study various branches of science, politics, social system, etc. through English, Dutch and German books as well as other channels. They realized that the administration of a State should be carried out in accordance with public opinion and at the same time they insisted upon the enhancement of the people's rights. The foundations for establishment of new Japan were thus laid out.

In educational circles, the late Mr. Yukichi Fukuzawa established the Keio Gijiku (present Keio University) at Mita, Tokyo, in the Keio era with a view to advocating the principles of liberty and equality, and introducing British principles. The late Mr. Komin Kawamoto, by the publication of book entitled "Kikai Kanran" (Universe), taught the people the law of universe. The Shogunate Government established an educational institution called the Kaiseijo and appointed as its instructors the late Mr. Hirayuki Kato, the late Mr. Kohei Kanda, and the late Mr. Kyutaro Iriye. The Kaiseijo adopted German principles.

The Keio Gijiku authorities made it their object to introduce radical reforms into political and national organizations, while the Kaiseijo authorities planned to partially improve the national organization. In fact, the Kaiseijo adopted the Divine and State ethics for the carrying out of administration and the Chinese classics for

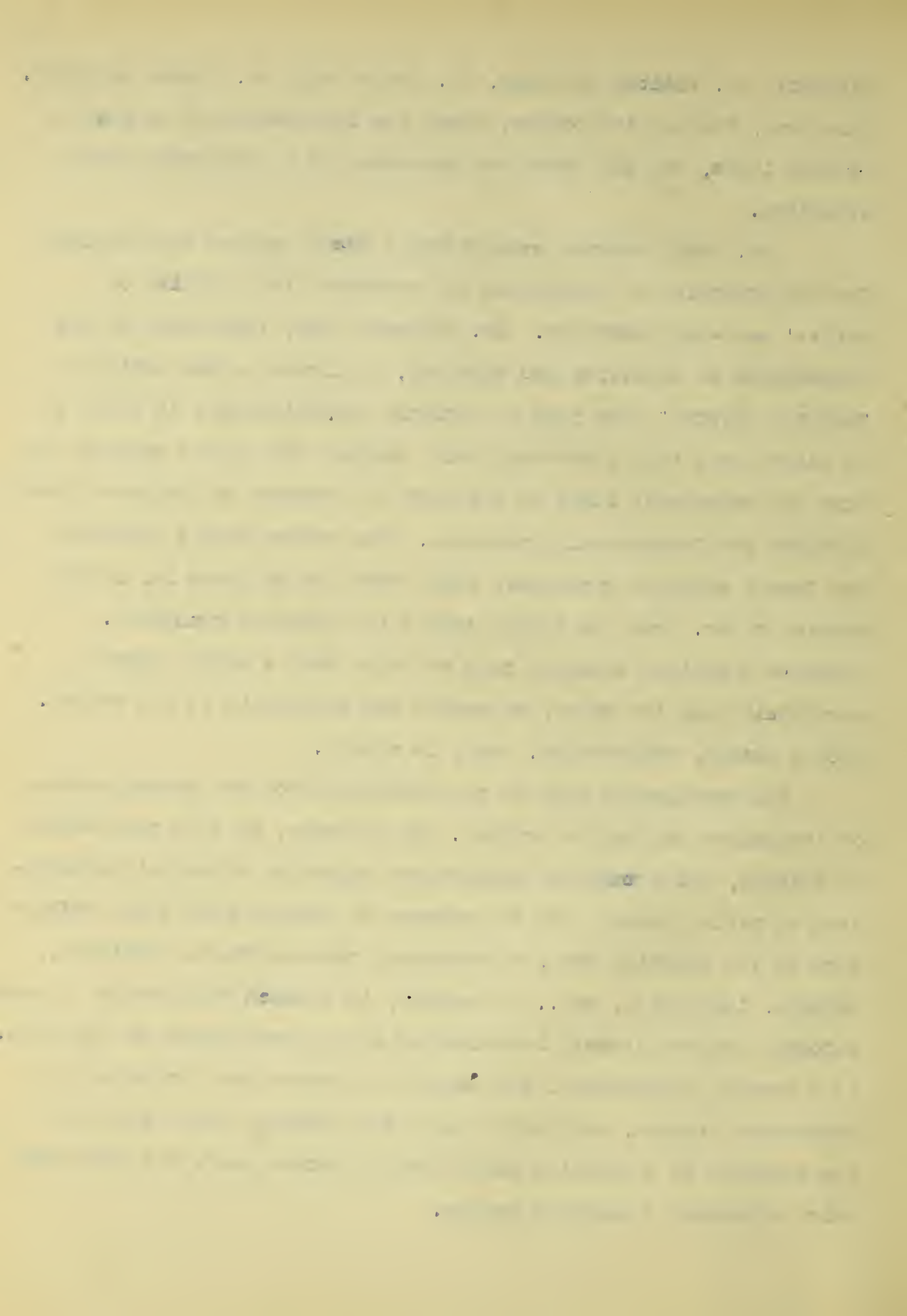
for the enhancement of morals, while introducing the Western science of the promotion of general knowledge. Dwelling on individual rights, the Kaisaiji authorities pronounced that the said rights are only effective and protected under the execution of the national power. As regards the national power, the same authorities were of the opinion that a State should have an unlimited authority or autocratic power and exercise Sovereign rights. A State, is, in reality, a Sovereignty. The Kaisaiji authorities thus opposed the Fukuzawa party or Keio Gijiku, and helped the Meiji Government in the carrying out of its administration. The democrats advocated the abolition of the clan system, the establishment of local autonomy, the expansion of the people's rights in commercial, industrial and agricultural circles, and the enhancement of economic interests. After the Restoration, a majority of students of the Imperial University in Tokyo were sons of Government officials and upon graduation they naturally entered the Government service. Accordingly the Imperial University was generally regarded as a special institution for the training of Government officials. On the other hand, sons of private individuals entered the Keio Gijiku which was regarded as an institution for giving education necessary in commercial and economic circles. The late Mr. Keio Nakamura translated into Japanese Mill's "On Liberty" in 1872 and advocated liberalism among all classes.

The liberal principles were thus propagated widely but some advocates went to such extremity as to bring about various abuses. To remedy this drawback, a Scholars' Club called the Meirokusha was organized in July, 1873, by a group of scholars such as the Mr. Yurei Mori, Minister of Education, Mr. Shigeju Nishimura, Mr. Shindo Tada, Mr. Shu Nishi, Mr. Masanao Nakamura, Mr. Hirayuki Kato, Mr. Akitsubo

Mizukuri, Mr. Yukichi Fukuzawa, Mr. Teizo Sugi, Mr. Rinsho Mizukuri. This Club, through its organs, urged the improvement of society on Western lines, and all doctrines advocated by it attracted public attention.

Mr. Keiu Nakamura established a school called the Dojinsha for the promotion of liberalism and advocated the adoption of Smiles' self-help doctrine. Mr. Hiroyuki Kato, influenced by the propagation of liberalism and equality, published a book entitled "Kokutai Shinron" (New Idea on National Constitution), in which it is pointed out that a Sovereign will respect the public opinion and that the autocratic ideas on the part of Japanese and Chinese classic scholars are fundamentally mistaken. The notion that a Sovereign *may* can freely exercise autocratic power over his subjects is, in the opinion of Mr. Kato, no longer upheld in civilized countries. Japanese classical scholars held the view that a people should absolutely obey its Ruler, no matter how autocratic is his action. Such a notion, remarked Mr. Kato, is absurd.

The propagation made by the Meirokusha for the dissemination of liberalism had had its effect. For instance, in 1872 the people of Saitama, Shiga and other prefectures organized a people's association or public council for the purpose of dealing with local affairs such as the riparian work, cultivation, communication, hospitals, schools, industries, etc.. In reality, it assumed the form of a local autonomy and was largely instrumental in the development of politics. As a natural consequence, two political parties were organized in Government circles, one party called the Shoburon which advocated the adoption of a positive policy and the other party the Shobunron which advocated a negative policy.



The former represented military men and others who, encouraged in their success achieved in the Restoration, schemed to expand Japan's territory, while the latter pleaded a peaceful policy with a view to developing domestic industries and enhancing the happiness of the people. To the Shoburon Party belonged Elder Saigo, the late Count Taisuke Itagaki, the late Count Taneomi Soyejima, the late Count Shojiro Goto, and the late Mr. Shimpei Eto, while the Shobunron Party comprised the late Prince Tomomi Iwakura, the late Mr. Koin Kido, the late Mr. Toshimichi Okubo and the late Marquis Shigenobu Okuma. Naturally opinions differed between the two parties and Ministerial changes were often brought about. Even in the pre-Restoration days, difference existed between four clans of Sasaku, Choshu, Tosa and Higo in Western Japan, but for the purpose of overthrowing the Shogunate Government the four clans acted as one body and it was therefore but natural that upon the ~~conclusion~~ conclusion of the Restoration a strife occurred among these clans for supremacy.

In the latter part of 1873, Elder Saigo and his lieutenants advocated the subjugation of Korea but being refused they resigned office. This was followed by the presentation to the Government of a representation urging the establishment of a National Assembly and the organization of a political party called the Aikokuto (Patriotic Party). In this way, a Political Party in a true sense was organized on January 18th, 1874.

The Aikokuto, by the adoption of French theories, concentrated its energy upon the expansion of the people's rights and the establishment of a National Assembly, members of which are elected by all classes.

This, however, could scarcely be described as a political party, but ~~it~~^{it} was the forerunner of political parties. Real political parties were not established until the parliament was convoked in 1890. The political parties in Japan may be divided into three periods:

1874 -- 1881; organizing period.

1881 -- 1890; preparatory period.

1890 -- 1922; developing and influential period.

CHAPTER III.

RISE OF VARIOUS POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS, ORGANIZING PERIOD.

The foreign policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate was that seclusion as it was already stated, but Korea was allowed to trade with the Japanese. Thus when the new government was established after the Restoration, the matter was at once announced to Korea. Korea was asked to continue the trade relation, but this was rejected on the ground that the term of the notification involved Korea as a subordinate country of Japan. The rejection of Korea stirred up the minds of the leading officials of the government that it had become the only important question at issue and the government was divided into two camps of peace and war. The former was led by Iwakura, Kido and Okubo, and the latter by elder Saigo, Itagaki and Soyejima. The peace party, however, had got the upper hand over the advocates of war like measures. Towards the close of 1873, first cabinet crisis of the new government occurred. Soyejima resigned his post as minister of Home Affairs, and along with him Saigo, Itagaki, Goto and Eto left the council of the State.

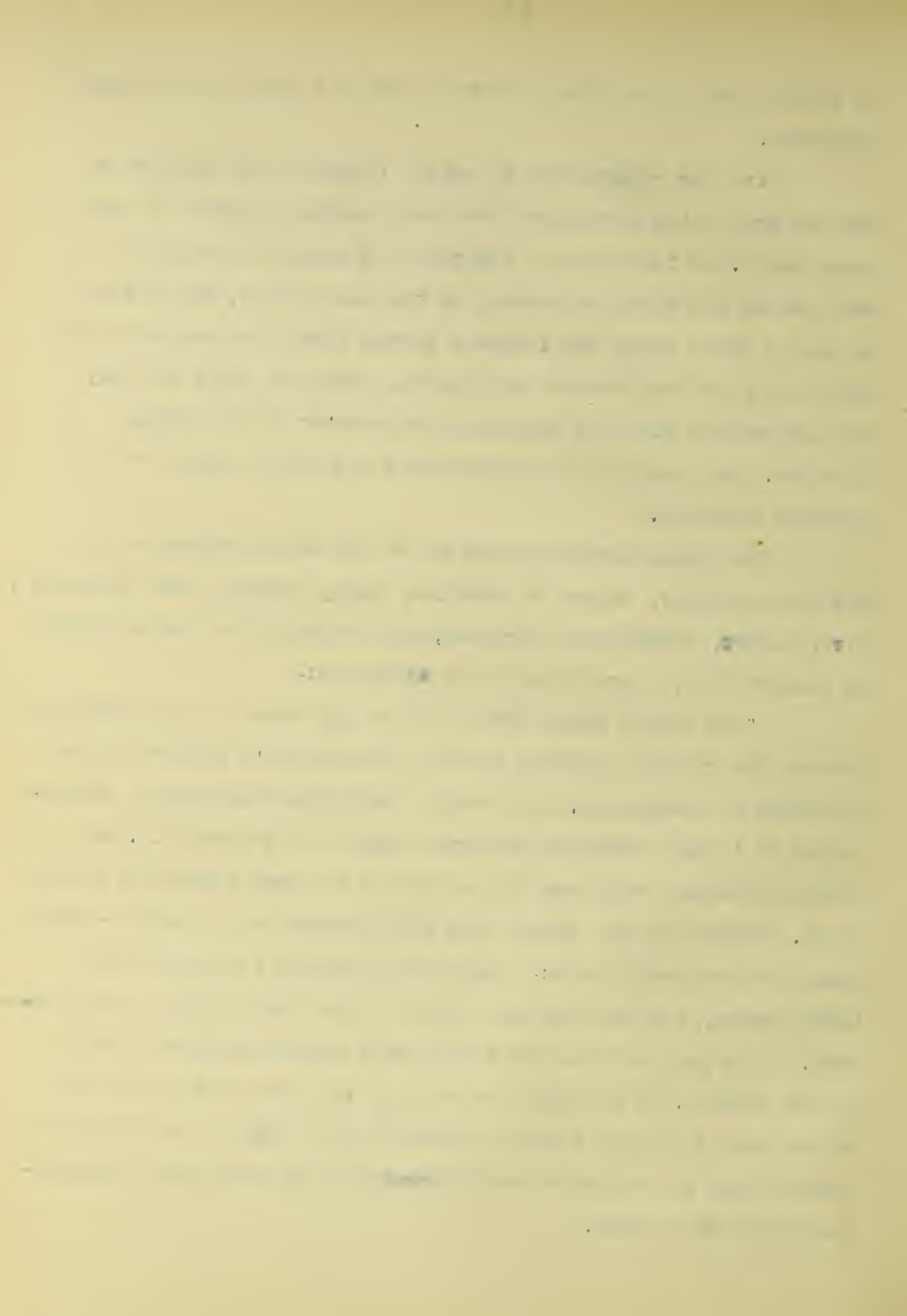
It is not necessary here to state the arguments of the peace party held, but the resignation of the leaders of the war party was the immediate cause of the establishment of the political parties in Japan, hence I shall here briefly state the arguments of the peace party. In December 1871, an embassy headed by Iwakura and including Kido, Okubo and Ito, visited America and Europe. During their tour through America and Europe, they inspected the material wealth and high progress of the western countries comparing with their own country, and on their return to Japan, they advocated the danger of foreign complications and urged the economic development of the people and the creation of strong military establishment.

No energy should therefore be wasted upon the quarrels on Korean questions.

With the resignation of Saigo, Itagaki, Goto and Eto of the war party, the government was under complete control of the peace party. The influence of the public opinion had gradually declined on the absolute control by the peace party, but the cry of public civil right had intensely spread among the people on the other hand, by the advocacy of Itagaki, Soyejima, Goto and Eto, who had retired from the government on account of the Korean question. They started the campaign for the establishment of an elective assembly.

The famous memorial praying for the establishment of an elective assembly, signed by Soyejima, Goto, Itagaki, Eto, Mitsuoka, Yuri, Komuro, Okamoto and Furuzawa, was presented to the government in January 1874, which in part was as follows:-

"The people whose duty it is to pay taxes to the government possess the right of sharing in their government's affairs and of approving or condemning. This being a principle universally acknowledged it is not necessary to waste words in discussing it. We therefore humbly pray that the officials will not resist this great truth. Those who just oppose the establishment of a council-chamber chosen by the people says:- "Our people wanting in culture and intelligence, and have not yet advanced into the region of enlightenment. It is too early yet to establish a council-chamber elected by the people". If it really be as they say, then the way to give to the people culture and intelligence and to cause them to advance swiftly into the region of enlightenment is to establish a council-chamber by the people."



The last paragraph of the memorial, which considered to be the essence, was as follows:--

"Our object in seeking to prove that a council-chamber elected by the people ought to-day to be established in our country, and that the degree of progress amongst the people of this country is sufficient for the establishment of such a council-chamber, is not to prevent the officials from making use of various pretexts for opposing it, but we are animated by the desire that by establishing such a council-chamber public discussion in the empire may be established, the spirit of the empire be roused to activity, the affection between governors and governed be made greater, sovereign and subject be brought to love each other, our Imperial country be maintained and its destinise be developed, and prosperity and peace be assured to all."

The memorial brought the attention of the public, being well received approval from different quarters, expecting a controversy from Kato Hiroyuki, the government's champion, over the pros and cons of representative government in Japan. One of the objections for the establishment of a representative assembly, Mr. Kato said that "our country is not exactly barbarous but yet its civilization is far from perfect and the people are too prone to submissiveness. This is greatly lamented. But if the government wishes to excite in the people the spirit of activity and to teach them to take a share in the conduct of the business of the empire, this object is not be obtained simply by the establishment of a deliberative assembly. The only method of obtaining it is by the establishing of schools and thus nourishing the nation's intellect. The self-reliant and active character of the prussian nation at the present day which has at last raised it to the position of the most powerful nation in Europe,

has not been due to the establishment of a deliberative assembly, but to the fact that since the time of Fredrick II, the Prussian government has devoted itself to the cultivation of the people's (1) minds."

For the fulfilment of the object of establishing a representative assembly, Itagaki and his friends formed the first political association, the Aikoku-Koto, the patriotic party, on the same day of presenting a memorial praying the establishment of a representative assembly. The aim of the new political party was to be the maintenance of popular rights and to enable the people to be self-governing. This could scarcely be described, even loosely, as a political party, but it was the forerunner of political parties. However, the honour of establishing the first so-called political party in Japan belongs to Itagaki, often called "the Rousseau of Japan," because he was the most passionate advocate of the natural rights of man."

But these were still early days and the cause suffered severely at the outset from the mistaken zeal of some of his friends. Eto Shimpei, one of political friends of Itagaki, former member of the council of state, who had resigned from the government with Itagaki from the difference of the Korean question, and his name appeared among the signatories of the memorial for the establishment of a representative assembly, threw all caution aside and in February, 1874, broke out in open revolt against the government. The uprising of Eto Shimpei, however, was at once suppressed by the government army.

Immediately after the failure of the outbreak of Eto Shimpei and his resistance against the government on the plea of patriotism, Itagaki returned to his native province of Tosa, vowing, however, that he would devote his life to the cause of the inauguration of

(1) J.G.D. P. 437-438.

representative institutions. As an organ of propagating his political views in order to arouse public opinion, he established the first local political association, the Risshisha, showing his determination to adhere to what he considered his life work.

According to the manifesto of the Risshisha, its object is the same with the Aikoku-Koto, which was already stated, the difference is only in its name. The former was established in Kochi province while the latter in Tokyo. Both are considered the origin of the Jiyuto, the first formal political party in Japan. There were two gentlemen who supported Itagaki for the establishment of the Risshisha. There Katsuka Kenkichi and Uyeki Yemori, who also were the keen advocates of popular right and liberal ideas. Political ideas had made the most development in the province of Kochi, and which had spread to the neighboring provinces, where similar political associations had been established. It was rather a strange coincidence that liberal ideas in Japan had been spread from the mountains in Kochi prefecture as liberal ideas in Europe were originated in the mountains of Germany.

Since the Risshisha was established, several adherents of popular right had spread up in various provinces, and urged the establishment of a representative assembly, exposing freely the evils of bureaucratic system of the government, which was then existed. The newspapers then reported nothing but severe criticism on the government, which was not then suppressed easily by the influence of the government. The government was finally forced to announce the opening of an assembly of the local government officials, as a step towards the creation of a representative assembly, as a testimony showing that the government was not despotic.

The Imperial message to this effect announced on May 2, 1874, was as follows:

"In accordance with the meaning of the Oath taken by Me at the commencement of my reign as a gradual development of its policy, I am convening an assembly of representatives of the whole nation so as by the help of public discussion to ordain laws, thus opening up the way of harmony between governors and governed and of the accomplishment of national desires and I trust by ensuring to each subjects throughout the nation an opportunity of peacefully pursuing his vacation to awaken them to a sense of the importance of matters of state."⁽¹⁾

I have therefore issued this constitution of a deliberative assembly providing for the convening of the chief officials of the different local jurisdictions and for their meeting and deliberating as the representative of the people."⁽¹⁾

This is not a deliberative assembly of the people, but it was undoubtedly a step towards the creation of a representative assembly. Itagaki and his political friends, however, were very dissatisfied with new institution since no representatives of the people were admitted in the meeting of local authorities.

In January 1875, a meeting was arranged by Ito and Inouye between Okubo, then most powerful man in the government, and Itagaki, Kido, Goto and Soyejima, great leaders of the opposition, the object being to adjust the differences between the leaders of the government and its opposition. As the result of the meeting a reconciliation took place, Kido and Itagaki re-entered in the government service, accepting their old office of councillors of state, on the condition that a representative assembly should be established.

Soon after Kido and Itagaki entered the government, an Imperial proclamation announcing the creation of the privy council and the higher court of appeal was issued, which was as follows:-

"It is Our desire not to restrict Ourselves to the maintenance of the five principles which We swore to preserve, but to go still further and enlarge the circle of domestic reforms.

With this in view We now establish the privy council to enact laws for the Empire, and the higher court of appeal to consolidate the judicial authority of the courts. By also assembling representatives from the various provinces of the Empire, the public mind will be best known and the public interest best consulted and in this manner the wisest systems of administration will be determined. (1) "

The Imperial proclamation thus laid the foundation of a representative assembly, making the privy council an upper house and the meeting of the local officials a lower house, and the court of appeal an independent juridicial office .

On the 17th of March the four officials mentioned were commanded to make investigations together regarding the constitutions of the government, and as a result of their report on their enquiries, the Sa-in and the U-in were abolished. The reunion officials circles, however, was not of long duration. In the autumn of 1875, the Anyokan, a Japanese cruiser, was fired on by Koreans in the vicinity of Kokwa island and the question again arose whether or not war should be declared. Itagaki favoured vigorous measures while the the civil war was in progress it was feared that disaffection might spread to other parts of the empire, and Itagaki returned to Tosa in order to exercise a restraining influence upon his followers.

In 1877, the famous Satsuma rebellion broke out led by Saigo Tamori against the government, but it was suppressed after only about six months' fighting. Itagaki though he was a friend of Saigo remained neutral during the rebellion since his policy was to fight against the government not with force but by peaceful method of public opinion. He wanted to establish a representative assembly by reason, not by force. While the war of the rebellion was going on, Itagaki, the founder of the Risshisha in Tosa and the Aikokusha in Osaka, was lecturing to young men in his native province of Tosa on popular rights and the necessity of establishing a representative assembly. In April 1878, Itagaki dispatched Sugita Teichi, Kuribara Myoichi, Uyeki Yemori and Yasuoka Michitaro to various provinces in Japan on a political campaign tour, with an object of establishing local political organizations or enlisting adherents in different parts of the country. The establishment of a representative assembly was the object of Itagaki and his followers. The political campaign tour of Sugita and three others were so successful that about twenty one branches of the Aikokusha were established in various provinces of Japan in one or two years. The establishment of a representative assembly was the object which all these associations had in view, and the immediate adoption of parliamentary government was the prayer of every petition or memorial they addressed to the authorities. The members of the political societies were drawn chiefly from the ranks of the student class, but the leaders were men of position and principle, and proved themselves capable of sustained interest in the main object of the

(1)
movement.

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In March 1880 a grand meeting of the Aikokusha and the representatives of the its branches was held in Osaka when the name of the Aikokusha was changed into the Kokkai Kisei Domei Kai, the United Association for the establishment of a representative assembly. A resolution was adopted at the same time that the united association shall not be dissolved until the final object of establishing a representative assembly be succeeded and an annual grand meeting shall hereafter be held in Tokyo, making Tokyo as their head office. Moreover, each branch throughout the country, held a similar meeting and sent a petition to the government, asking them to establish a representative assembly. They had used all the methods in the way of interesting the people in popular right for the accomplishment of a representative assembly.⁽²⁾

The Kokkai Kisei Domeikai had sent several petitions to the government on various occasions for the establishment of a national assembly, which was not only headed by the government, but on the other hand their movements were often suppressed by them. In November 1881 the name of the Kokkai Kisei Domei Kai was changed into the Dai Nippon Kokkai Yushi Kai, an association of persons in sympathy with the idea of establishing a parliament in Japan.

On the other hand, the government allowed them almost absolute freedom in propagating their views, but finally becoming alarmed, the regulations for public meetings and associations were issued in April, 1880, which practically suppressed the agitation.

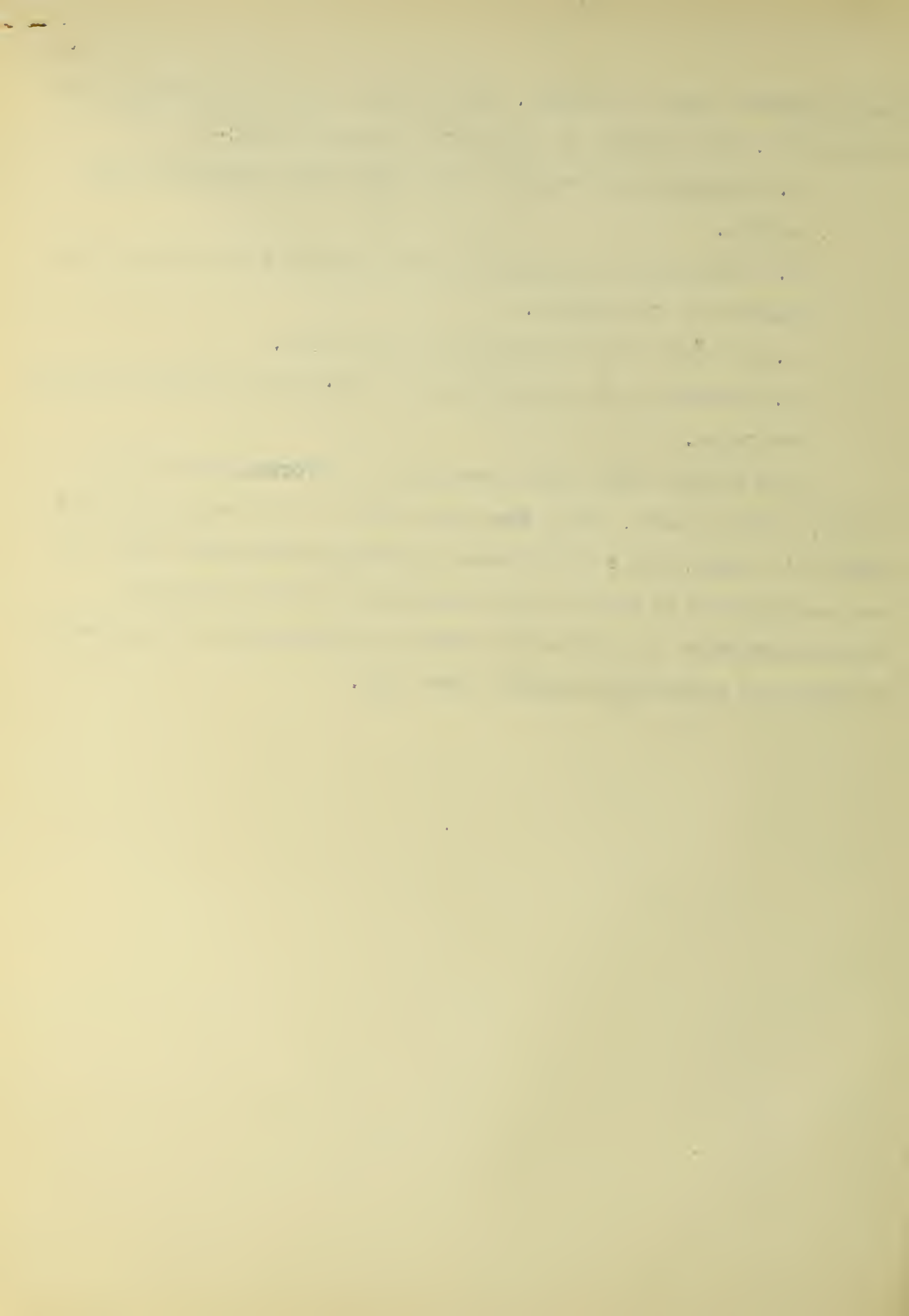
The various political associations scattered throughout the country with their aim of establishing a national assembly, now found themselves within reasonable distance of goal. The next step to be taken was to organize a political party with fixed principles

(2) T. Kudo, Meiji Kenseishi, vol. 1 P. 145.

based upon the idea of freedom. Thus Jiyuto, the liberal party, was established. The platform of the party was as follows:-

1. Enlarging the freedom of the people and extending their rights.
2. Increasing the progress of the nation and promoting the welfare of the people.
3. Belie^ving in the equality of the people.
4. Beliveing that constitutional government is best befitting to Japan.

The liberal party was undoubtedly the forerunner of the Jiyuto, liberal party, which has become one of the leading political parties in Japan, but its influence was hardly recognized until it was re-organized in 1881 by the amalgamation of the Dai Nippon Kokkai Kisei Domei Kai, after the Emperor had promulgated his promise to establish a national assembly from 1890.



CHAPTER 1V

ESTABLISHMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES FOR THE CONVOCAATION OF THE DIET.
(PREPARATORY PERIOD).

The question of the proposed sale of the property in the Hokkaido by the colonial commission at the middle of 1881, brought an uproar in Tokyo, which suddenly caused the Emperor to promise that a parliament should be assembled in 1890. The definite promise to convoke a parliament in 1890 had made politics of much more interest and more active throughout the country, and in fact, the political parties in Japan were established immediately after the promulgation of the parliamentary rescript. Therefore, I shall here briefly state the question of the colonial commission before stating the rise of the political parties.

The colonial commission had been established in 1869 to develop the Hokkaido, and from the beginning of its career up to 1880, the government had annually spent one million yen on various enterprises, the total amount the government had derrayed being Yen 14,096,440 in twelve years. General Kuroda, who was the chief of the commission, proposed in 1881 to wind up its affairs by selling the enterprises for the amount of Yen 300,000 to a private company on the ground that little ⁽¹⁾ success had resulted from the expenditure of such a large sum of public money. The government sanctioned a project to sell the enterprises for a conspicuously small sum. Opposition, however, had developed in Tokyo under the leadership of Okuma Shigenobu, then minister of Finance.

The question had stirred up the government officials as well as the people, and specially all the newspapers in Japan strongly criticised the sanction, saying that the action of the colonial

(1) K. Wakabayashi, Dainihon Seitoshi, P. 190.

commission involved a scandal, sacrificing the profit of the government for the private benefit of a company. On the other hand, nearly every day and evening mass meeting were held at the public halls as well as in the theatres, in Tokyo and in other large cities in Japan, accusing Kuroda and other officials in the colonial commission as grafters. The situation was such the government found that unless a promise of convoking a parliament be given, the high pressure of agitation and mob attempts of the people would not be slackened. Under these circumstances an Imperial Decree was issued October 12, 1881, promising to establish a constitutional form of government, a parliament in 1890.

From this time on the interest of the people was concentrated on the establishment of real political parties with definite principles for the preparation of the forthcoming session of the parliament, which will be convoked from 1890. Up to this time two political factions were existed as it was already stated in the previous chapter, the Kokkai Kisei Kai and the Liberal party, both established for the same purpose to pray for the establishment of a representative assembly. Their long achieved hope had now been realized, and a determination was assured at to organize a political party with fixed principles based upon the idea of freedom. With this object in view, the Kokkai Kisei Kai was amalgamated in October 1881 to the Jiyuto, the liberal party, appointing Itagaki as president and Nakashima Nobuyuki as vice-president. For the first time in the history of political parties in Japan, the real political party was founded by Itagaki, with the following manifesto;

(1) Sashihara, Meiji Seishi, vol. 11. P. 1167.

1. The extension of freedom, preservation of right, increase of happiness and improvement of social conditions.
2. The establishment of a good constitutional form of government.
3. To work together with others who have the same principle and object.

Following the establishment of the Liberal party by Itagaki, another political party, The Rikken Kaishinto, Constitutional Progressive party, was established in March 1882 by Okuma Shigenobu. There are three leading statesmen in Japan, who have rendered more service for the development of party politics in Japan. They are Count Itagaki, the founder of the liberal party, Marquis Okuma, the founder of the constitutional progressive party and Prince Ito, the founder of the Rikken Seiyukai, the constitutional party. When the question of the colonial commission was at its highest pitch, Okuma suggested that government establish a representative assembly in 1883, which was rejected, and instead there appeared an Imperial Rescript promising the desired institution in 1890. Okuma immediately resigned his office and his political friends forced him to establish a political party, the constitutional reform party under the leadership of Okuma. The programme of the party was enunciated as follows:-

1. The preservation of the dignity of the Imperial House and the perfecting of the happiness of the people.
2. Internal reform to be the principle and in view and the national rights to be extended.
3. Local self-government and restriction of centralization.

Sashihara, Meiji Seishi, vol.11 P. 1273.

4. Extension of the franchise with the progress of the society.
5. Negotiations with foreign countries in regard to points of policy to be limited and commercial negotiations strengthened.
6. The principle of hard money system to be maintained.

Following the establishment of the liberal and constitutional parties, another political party the Rikken Teiseito, constitutional imperial party, was established by Fukuchi Genichiro, Maruyama Saraku, Midzuno Torajiro and Hada Kyosuke in March 1882, as an opponent of the more advanced and popular parties. The programme of the party was as follows:-
(1)

1. The opening of the Diet in 1890, which the party accepted as determined by Imperial Ordinance.
2. Approval of the constitution as it should be determined by Imperial Order.
3. The sovereign power lies in the Emperor, but its exercises is governed by the constitution.
4. There should be two houses in the Diet.
5. Members must have certain qualifications.
6. The Diet to discuss and settle laws.
7. The final determination of questions to rest with the Emperor.
8. Naval and military men to keep aloof from politics.
9. Judicial officers to be independent with the gradual competition of the judicial system.
10. Public freedom of meeting and speech in so far as it does not interfere with national tranquillity.
11. The existing paper money system to be gradually changed for convertible paper money.

The liberal party was organized on the basis of Spencer's social equality principle and Rousseau's democracy. Under these doctrines, all men enjoy the right of liberty and even Sovereign have no power to deprive men of this right. Sons of Royal families and poor persons alike are therefore entitled to exercise the right of liberty. Logically no restriction whatever can be placed on any idea pronounced by any person. In bringing pressure to bear upon any action of an individual or individuals a state must necessarily obtain the consent of the populace. In fact, a state simply carries out what is desired by its people. It is further pointed out that a state is a common property of a people residing thereon and officials may be regarded public servants, and as such they are in no way superior to ordinary individuals and in some cases inferior to the latter. Under such doctrine, efforts were made to expand the people's rights and also to break down such evil customs as to respect officials and despise common people. The adoption of a single House system for a National Assembly was also advocated under the principles of equality and liberty for all classes. Members for a National Assembly must be elected by all classes.

The progressive party is organized on the basis of the British constitutional regime and has tried from its beginning for the application of the British essence to our country. Okuma, in a representation submitted to the government in 1881, urged the enactment of a constitution, the organization of a national assembly on the basis of two houses system, the adoption of a restricted election law in view of the existence of the rich and the poor, the formation of a responsible cabinet on the basis of a political party, and the development of local autonomy in lieu of the centralization of power.

In fact, the policies of the progressive party were real and definite, laying great stress upon the importance of developing economics and enriching the state and people. The progressionists, though eager for the adoption of a progressive principle as the Liberals, were not so extreme as were the liberals and have always adopted a moderate policy. The progressive party was thus composed of the moderates and others above the middle class of society, and for this reason some radicals regarded progressive party as an assembly of cowards and white livered persons.

The constitutional imperial party was nearly in the same position as the Cavaliers in England in the days of 1500 who guarded the British Throne. The object of the Imperial party was to protect the Imperial Court by the execution of Sovereign power and then to shield the government under the influence of Sovereignty. The party men first made public a statement relating to the origin of Takama-ga-hara (Japanese Olympus), the centre of Japanese mythology, and then dwelt on the unbroken line of the Throne lasting for more than 2500 years. The party further advocated that Japan radically differs from other countries in the west in her national organization and urged upon the people the wisdom of protecting and maintaining the national organization for generations. The advocacy of liberalism, declared the party, was aimed at the destruction of the national organization. Therefore the so-called conservatives and other elements who were dissatisfied with the actions of the progressionists and liberals assembled under the banner of the Teiseito. The Shinto priests and other classes of priests, all of whom are of conservative type, welcomed the party doctrine.

The liberal party adopted an absolutely liberal principle and advocated radical ideas. The Teiseito (Imperial constitutional party) supported a conservative principle and protected the autocratic administration. The Kaishinto (Progressive party) adopted a medium policy and insisted on the organization of a national assembly on the basis of two Houses system and the enactment of a restricted elective law, a policy which had a close resemblance to that of the Teiseito, however, opposed an interference policy of the government and advocated an autonomy, and in this respect the Kaishinto was quite near the liberals. Like the Teiseito, the Kaishinto was opposed any sudden political change and insisted on the adoption of a systematic progressive method, but the Kaishinto differed from the Teiseito in that it advocated the urgent necessity of reforming domestic affairs and then the adoption of such policy as to expand the national power abroad. Non-interference policy in regard to class war between the rich and poor was the characteristic of the Kaishinto. (1)

Notwithstanding the fact that there was a marked difference between the three parties as indicated above, the liberal and progressive parties have co-operated against the bureaucratic government and the Teiseito which imposed heavy taxes upon the people and hated the liberalism. The liberals operated on the theories advanced by French scholars, while the progressionists followed in the footsteps of political parties in England. With the progress of times a wide gulf was created between the liberals and progressionists owing to a difference of principles. At that time, the "Yubin Hochi", the "Tokyo-Yokohama Mainichi", the "Choya" and other newspapers which had hitherto sided with the liberals altered their attitude and joined the progressionists. The "Jiyu-Shimbun" alone acted as an organ of the

(1) Takegoshi, Shinnihonshi, vol. 1. P. 225.

liberals. Towards the end of 1882, some organs of the progressionists printed articles stating that the proposed-the-world tour by Itagaki, leader of the liberals, was due to a secret understanding with the government. The liberals were greatly irritated at the publication of such information.

Taking advantage of this situation, the government went so far to instigate the liberals with a view to creating a dissension between the two parties. Mr. S. Furusawa, chief editor of the "Jiyu Shimbun", published a series of editorials denouncing the progressionists, in which it is stated that Okuma Shigenobu, leader of the Kaishinto, while in power had committed irregularities and destroyed the currency system by issuing paper notes at random. Further, it was pointed out that Okuma has established close relations with Mitsubishi and company for the purpose of benefitting his party. Immediate measures must therefore be taken to bring pressure to bear upon Mitsubishi and company. Following this argument, an agitation was started against the progressionists by such leading politicians as Hoshi Toru and others held political mass meeting to crush them. A state of war was soon declared between the two political parties, which were thus caught in a trap laid by the government. Thereupon the government ignored and despised the opposition parties and the result was that the Teiseito was dissolved in the autumn of 1883.

This was because the Government ignored opposition parties such as the Kaishinto (Progressive) and Jiyuto (Liberals).

A wide gulf existed between the progressive and Liberals at the time. Liberals were then converted into the Gekishinto or Radicals who were further converted into the Kakumeito or Revolutionists. The latter thought that neither argument nor speech will prove efficacious in

improving the Administration and that should they start anti-Government movement all classes of the people would flock under their standard in the hope of upsetting the Government. A suppressive policy taken by local Governors for the mere purpose of pleasing the Central Government has caused the Liberals or Revolutionists to entertain such idea as stated above. Governor T. Mishima of Fukushima prefecture was a typical bureaucrat of the kind. The manner in which Governor Mishima entertained Ministers of State was disgraceful in the extreme. Under his suppressive policy, the Liberals in Fukushima prefecture were seriously handicapped. Even the people of Fukuoka prefecture became disgusted with Governor Mishima. Availing themselves of such situation, Mr. Hironaka Kono and other Liberals planned to start an anti-Government agitation in Fukushima in the Autumn of 1882 but this plot was disclosed by the police with the result that Mr. Kono and others were imprisoned.

The step so far taken by the authorities was regarded as a signal to crush opposition parties and the police acted accordingly. The consequence was that many Liberals were arrested and imprisoned. The North-eastern district and Echigo province were regarded as hot-beds of the Liberals. While Mr. Kono and others were still kept in detention in Fukushima, some 50 Liberals in Echigo province were also arrested and imprisoned. The latter ~~The latter~~ have organized an association called the Tenchuto (Heavenly Punishment Party) for the purpose of assassinating ministers of State. With the exception of Akai and H. Inouye, both of whom were original schmers of the above plot, all the others were released. Such high-handed measure taken by the government have greatly paralyzed Opposition party.

In July, 1883, prince Iwakura who was the pillar of the State and Government died of illness. In August, prince Ito returned home from Germany. Since the retirement of Marquis Okuma from Government service, Prince Ito and Marquis Inouye were the principal factors in dealing with affairs of State. Ito had no fixed policy and in character he was conservative and aristocratic. Like politicians of Great Britain and France, Ito tried to organize a big political party for the purpose of fighting opposition parties. Ito caused the Teiseito (Imperial Administration Party) to fight Opposition Parties but he lacked such courage as to expose himself at the front as in battles in feudal days.

While in Germany, Ito often visited Bismarck from whom he learned in the Imperial Household Department. Thus the Imperial Court became closely associated with politics and friends of Prince Ito were given high offices at the Imperial Household Department.

Opposition Parties schemed to overthrow the Bureaucratic government but their scheme was not easily realized. Strange to say, the people were rather indifferent towards politics and did not take any interest in party strife. Thereupon some politicians in the Opposition camp became Government officials, while others retired from political secrets of foreign and domestic policies. Ito became convinced that it was possible for him to organize a Ministry without the backing of any political party and thus to carry out the Administration. In so doing, he saw the necessity of approaching the Throne as far as possible, no matter what will be the relation between the Government and people. Upon his return home, Ito became minister of Imperial Household and in April, 1884, he organized an Official Organization Investigation Bureau, and returned home.

Meanwhile Count Itagaki, leader of the old Liberal Party, returned from Europe. Before visiting Europe, Itagaki was under the impression that under the great principles of liberty and equality administration abuses must first be remedied.

Upon his return from Europe, Itagaki thought it more important to improve and enhance the status of living and society than the improvement of administration. Such attitude taken by Itagaki had greatly disappointed the Liberals who anticipated that Itagaki, on his return from Europe, will advocate Liberalism more earnestly than before. The result was that the Liberal Party was dissolved in October, 1883.

prior to this, the Teiseito was already dissolved and now the Liberal party followed suit as above stated. Some members of the Progressive proposed to dissolve the Party but many younger members insisted that the progressive Party should maintain its existence as a political party. Marquis Okuma, Mr. Hironaka Kono and others who were once in government service seceded from the Progressive Party which, however, remained intact. Seeing that there is no barrier to interrupt his progress, prince Ito in December, 1885, abolished the Office of Daijokan (Supreme Administration Office) and established a Cabinet (Naikaku) instead. The title of minister of State was then altered from Kyo to Daijin, the new Office of Prime Minister being inaugurated. The New Office of the ministers of the Imperial Household and Court Councillors were also inaugurated, thereby paving the way for the inauguration of Supreme Office of Genro or Elder Statesmen in the future. prince Ito himself assumed the Premiership and Marquis K. Inouye was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Marquis Inouye was really a courageous statesman. In the early days of the Meiji Era when Toshimichi Okubo was in the ascendancy, both Prince Ito and Marquis Okuma were content in serving under him but Marquis Inouye as minister of Finance refused to obey Okubo's order. Marquis Inouye lacked patience and endurance as a politician but he was a clever and courageous man and endeavoured to accomplish what other statesmen could not do.

The question of revising the Treaties was really a difficult undertaking on the part of Government at the time and Marquis Inouye made up his mind to accomplish this undertaking. This was why he allowed prince Ito to take up the office of premier.

In the spring of 1887 when the Government's plan to revise the Treaties was made public, Mr. Boussonard, A French Adviser to the Department of Justice, warned the Government to re-consider its plan which he feared would prove highly disadvantageous and dangerous to Japan, if carried out. Viscount Tani, minister of Agriculture and Commerce, also warned the Government on the subject. A popular agitation caused Inouye to abandon his plan to revise the Treaties and on July 29th the Government informed this fact to all Foreign Diplomatic representatives in Tokyo. Inouye resigned the office of Foreign Affairs and shortly afterward Viscount Tani also resigned office. Availing themselves of such situation, opposition parties started movements to overthrow the Ito Ministry.

CHAPTER V.

TREATY REVISION QUESTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF DAIDODANKETSU.

(PREPARATORY PERIOD)

Since the dissolution of the Rikken Teiseito (Constitutional Imperial Administrative Party) in 1883, various parties were paralyzed and the situation remained gloomy for some time. In 1885 when the Ito-Inouye ministry was organized, Marquis Inouye, minister of Foreign Affairs, planned to modify the Treaties of this object. Marquis Inouye earnestly advocated the adoption of manners and customs in other civilized countries and the wisdom of revising laws and regulations of this country on Western lines. A Law Investigation Bureau was inaugurated in the Foreign Office and the Marquis himself was in charge of the Bureau. Marquis Inouye further advocated the study of foreign languages among the Japanese and went so far as to interfere with religions in the country, urging the people to prefer the Christian faith to other religions. The consequence was that the famous Rokumeikan building became a rendezvous for dancing and other performances day and night, the standard of morals among the people having become degenerated. Many patriots denounced such a policy of the government, declaring that the State was on the brink of ruin. In April, 1887, Lieut-General Viscount Tani, minister of Agriculture and Commerce, who was the leader of the Churitsusha, a political party in Tosa, returned home from Europe whither he went on mission to study industrial systems and on seeing the degeneracy of the Ito-Inouye Administration Viscount Tani submitted a representation to his colleagues, urging the latter not to revise the Treaties on concession, to economize the administration expenditure, to refrain from luxury, not to adopt German methods, to adopt a strong foreign

policy, to exercise frugality and to foster national power.

Viscount Tani's argument was of no avail because the Government was composed of elements of the Sesshu and Choshu clans. On July 26th, 1887, Viscount Tani resigned office.

Meanwhile anti-Government propaganda steadily gained influence among the populace who became disgusted with the Ito-Inouye administration, the consequence being that the action of the Conservatives, including Viscount Tani, was much appreciated. Many members of the Liberals assumed such attitude as to join hands with the Conservatives. The policy of the Conservatives coincided with argument advocated by the Teiseito (Imperial Administration party) 14 years ago, both Parties advocating the loyalty to the Throne and the preservation of national characteristics as far as possible. The Conservatives led by Viscount Tani continued to grow in influence and later an Association called the Nippon Club was organized by viscount Tani, Marquis Chokun Asano, Lieut-General Viscount Koyata Torio and others including remnants of the Teiseito which was dissolved. The Teiseito shielded the Clan Government and thus lost the popular confidence. On the other hand, the Conservatives attacked the government and won popular favour. The foundation of the Kaishinto (progressive) and the Jiyuto (liberals) became consolidated and there was no room left for young men.

Accordingly ambitious young men joined the Conservatives which thus grew in dimensions and influence.

With a view to opposing the Ito-Inouye Administration, Lieut-General Torio organized a political party called the Chuseisha under the standard of the Conservatives.

Prior to this, General Torio visited Europe and on his return home he advocated the wisdom of expanding the authority of the now-defunct Genroin (present Privy Council) as in European countries but his suggestion was not adopted. In November, 1888, General Torio made a public declaration urging a thorough reform in the Administration and the preservation of national characteristic.

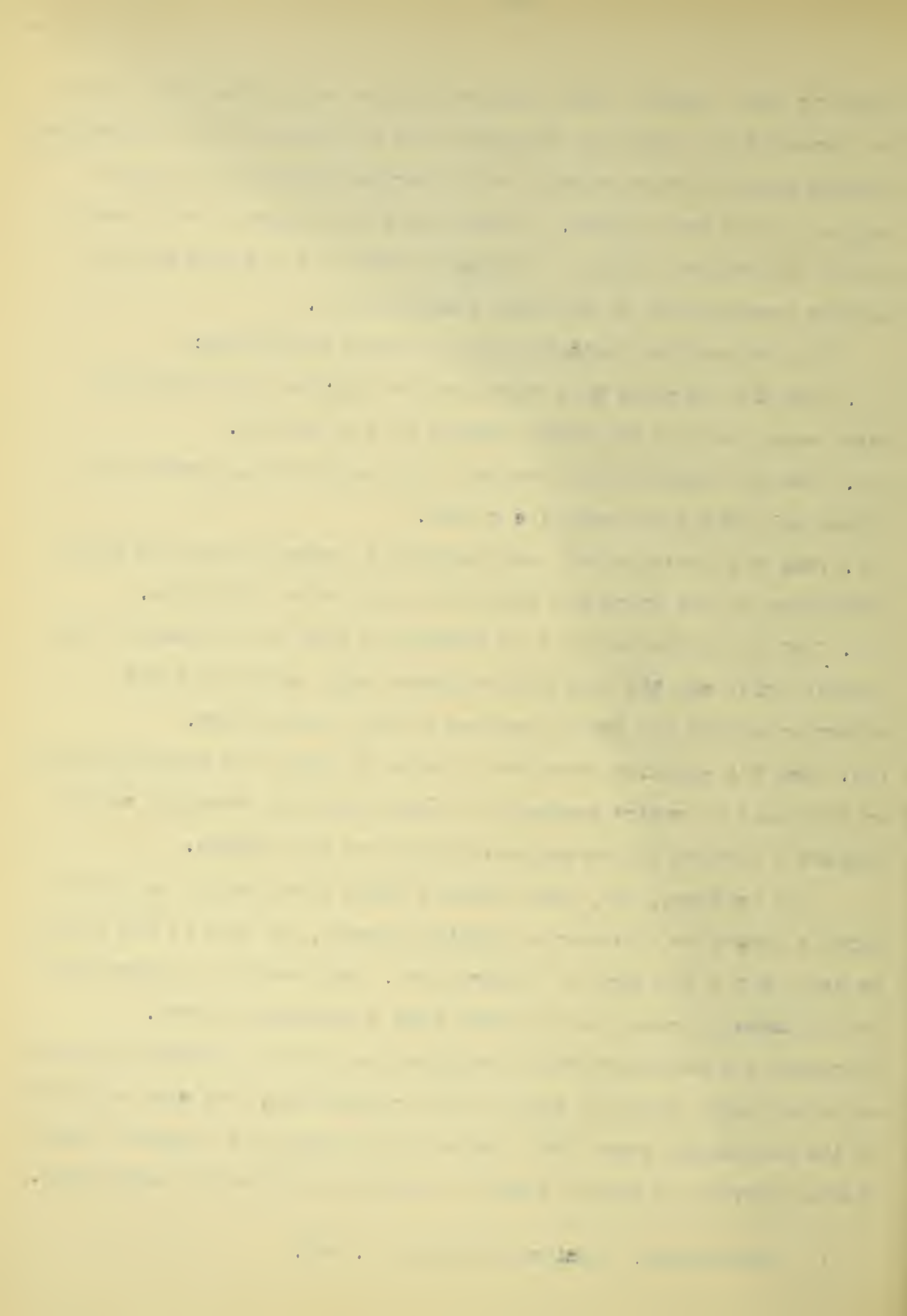
(1)

The declaration contained the following provisions:-

- (1). That the Chuseiha will exercise its function as a political party among various political parties in the country.
- (2). That the Chuseiha will respect the Constitution, protect the Throne and uphold the people's rights.
- (3). That the Chuseiha will not hesitate in carrying out the Great Principles of the State and exercising its proper functions.
- (4). That the Chuseiha deems it imperative that both Houses of the Imperial Diet and the Legislative Bureau shall exercise their authority within the sphere granted by the Constitution.
- (5). That the Chuseiha considers it wise to carry out administration on the basis of strict economy, to foster national strength and to achieve a success in the administration for the future.

In February, 1888, when Marquis Okuma (then Count) succeeded Marquis Inouye as minister of Foreign Affairs, he made it his object to carry out a revision of the Treaties. The Kaishinto (Progressive) led by Marquis Okuma was converted into a Government party. Thereupon the Conservatives in conjunction with the Liberals assumed an antagonistic attitude against the Progressives, who were advocates of the Government since 1882, and with the backing of Marquis Asano, Viscount Torio and Miura, started a movement against the Government.

(1) Wakabayashi, Daihinon Seitoshi, P. 402.



The London Times of April 9th, 1889, printed an article giving an outline of the proposed revision of the Treaties. On the basis of this article, the Conservatives denounced the foreign policy of Marquis Okuma who became a target of criticism on all sides. The proposal to revise the Treaties was abandoned in consequence.

The Treaty Revision question was a difficult problem pending for many years. Marquis Inouye's plan to revise the Treaties ended in failure and his immediate successor, Marquis Okuma, wished to open separate negotiations with each of other Powers on the subject. Upon the publication of the Okuma's plan for a revision of the Treaties, the "Nippon Shimbun", an organ of the Conservatives, attacked the Government pointing out that the Okuma's plan, if carried out, would impair the prestige of the country viewed from a legal standpoint.

Viscount Tani, together with Mr. Shiro Shiba, Mr. Tomofusa Sasa and others, left Tokyo for the North-Eastern district on a political tour and urged upon the local people the necessity of starting productive enterprises by availing themselves of natural resources in the district which under the Okuma plan might eventually pass into the hands of other Powers. The result was that a general movement was started against the proposed revision of the Treaties throughout the country. A large number of so-called patriots and "seishi" from the provinces flocked into Tokyo where anti-government meetings were held day and night. The principal elements in the
(1)
Conservative camp at the time comprised the following:--

(1) Wakabayashi, Dainihonshi, P. 412.

- (1). The Chuseiha under the leadership of Viscount Tani whose organ was the "Hashu Shinron".
- (2). The Meijikaiha under the leadership of Count Sasaki whose organ was the "Meijikaishoshi".
- (3). The Asanoha under the leadership of Marquis Aino, with Viscount Tani as chief lieutenant, whose organ was the "Nippon".
- (4). The Kotenkokyujoha under the leadership of Count Sasaki whose organ was the "Kotenkokyujokogi".
- (5). The Gengotorishirabeha under the leadership of Viscount Hijikata whose right-hand man was Baron Takasaki.
- (6). The Sonnohebutsu-Daidoden which had no leader and which had the "Daido Shimpō" as an organ.
- (7). The New Conservatives who had no leader and who had an organ called the "Nippon-jin".

In October, 1889, Marquis Okuma was assaulted by a "soshi" with the result that he lost one of his leg. Marquis Okuma then resigned office. The question of revising the Treaties was consequently abandoned. In other words, the anti-Treaty parties won a victory. If the anti-Treaty Parties were actually political parties in a true sense they have grasped the situation and established a government of their own. On November 3rd, the Birthday Anniversary of the Emperor Meiji, the anti-Treaty Parties and the Nippon Club were formally dissolved in spite of the fact that the convocation of the first session of the Imperial Diet was near at hand. The attitude so far taken by these Parties had elicited public approbation.

Taking advantage of the popular agitation against the plan of the Ito-Inouye ministry to revise the Treaties in 1887, Count Shojiro Goto advocated the urgent necessity of a union of various parties with a view to attacking the government. In the opposition camp, there were the old Liberals, progressives and conservatives, all of which started an agitation against the proposal to revise the Treaties. However, there was none who was well qualified in assuming the sole command of these parties. Count Itagaki, leader of the Liberals, was in his native country in western Japan at the time. Marquis Okuma, since his retirement from his political life in 1884, refrained from taking on active part in politics. Viscount Tani, alone as a leader of an opposition party, started an agitation against the Government but he was too conservative to co-operate with advocates of liberalism. Seeing this, Count Goto made up his mind to carry out his scheme and on October 3rd, 1887, he held a meeting at the Sanyentei at Shiba Park, Tokyo.

Addressing the meeting, Count Goto called attention to the fact that that the prestige of the country abroad was fast declining while patriotism and the loyalty to the Throne which constitute the foundations of the State were rendered only nominal. If such a deplorable situation was allowed to drag on the fate of Japan would be sealed. At this critical moment, remarked Count Goto, patriots should laid aside trifling differences and co-operate for the sake of the State and people. Those present at the meeting, were so greatly impressed by Count Goto's statement that they took the oath to effect a Union of various parties as schemed by Goto himself.

An Association called the Choji Club was organized by Count Goto who issued the following statement:—

Whereas views of various parties in different places of the country coincide with each other, there is no organ through which to co-operate. Nothing can be more regrettable than the lack of such an organ. A Club is therefore established to meet the pressing need of time. It is to be hoped that the same organs will be established in all parts of the country in order to realize the object of view.

The following were the rules of the new Club:-

- (1). The Club has for its object the facility of communications and the promotion of friendly relations among its members.
- (2) Anyone whose views coincide with those of the Club in a general outline and who is recognized by promoters of the Club may be enrolled as a members. It is, however, requested that local inhabitants who desire to become members of the Club must necessarily be in such a position as to exchange correspondence with the Club by representing a group of individuals or public bodies.
- (3). The expenditure of the Club shall be absolutely borne by promoters only.

Count Goto had, in reality, the organization of the Club and his object was ultimately realized. In other words, the proposed revision of the Treaties was abandoned and Marquis Inouye resigned the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

Seeing that opposition parties are daily growing in influence, the Government caused Viscount Kencho Suyematsu, Director of the Prefectural Administration Bureau in the Home Office, and others to draft Peace preservation Law as a final measure and under date of December 25th, 1887, the Law as promulgated and enforced immediately.

Between the 26th and 28th of that month some 570 politicians and others who were opposed to the Government were deported to the district beyond several miles from Tokyo. This is generally known as coup d'etat of 1887.

The step so far taken by the government was tantamount to a policy adopted by Napoleon III, who, by the enforcement of a Peace Preservation Law, expelled his political enemies and also to the measure taken by the German Government and the British conservative Government in dealing with the Socialists and the Irish question respectively.

Notwithstanding the oppression of the government, Count Goto continued the propagation of Daido-Danketsu, namely the Union of various political parties in the country. In April, 1888, politicians of the North-eastern district held a meeting at the Matsubakan at the city of Fukushima with the object of pushing forward the above object. The meeting was attended by over 300 persons, among them being Count Goto and those deported from Tokyo under the peace preservation Act. The local authorities at once sent a police force to the meeting to provide for emergency. On April 30th Premier Ito resigned and was succeeded by Count Kuroda. On June 1st Count Goto with the backing of Mr. Masami Oishi, Mr. Seiichi Takimoto and other leading politicians published a political magazine for the propagation of Daido-Danketsu, in which it was pointed out that for the carrying out of the union of various parties it is important to crush the government, to enable opposition parties to gain influence in the Imperial Diet and to adopt a strong foreign policy as far as possible.

On March 3rd, 1889, Count Goto entered the Cabinet as minister of Communication. Prior to this, Count Itagaki in Tosa advised Count Goto to enter the Ministry and devote his energy to the interest of the State. Premier Kuroda was at the same time warned by Count Itagaki to admit Count Goto into the Ministry. At that time the ministry was in favour of a proposal to strengthen its foundations by inviting such influential patriots and leaders as Count Goto and Itagaki to join the Ministry and this was the reason why Count Goto was given the portfolio of Communications.

Upon the entry of Count Goto into the Ministry, question has arisen as to the future of Daido-Danketsu. Those Cabinet ministers who were closely connected with Count Goto desired to help him to the last but a majority of ministers were opposed to such a measure. Thus a split occurred among members of the Cabinet.

At the time the Daido-Danketsu was effected under the leadership of Count Goto, many members of the Liberal Party joined it. Mr. K. Inukai who was with the progressives at the time also joined the Daido-Danketsu. Mr. Inukai, together with Mr. M. Oishi, Mr. S. Suhehiro and others who enjoyed the confidence of Count Goto, devised various plans for the sake of the Daido-Danketsu. Owing to the fact that the Daido-Danketsu was composed of different elements, no uniform action was taken and various abuses were brought about. Plans of Mr. Inukai, Mr. Oishi and others to purify the corrupt atmosphere of the Daido-Danketsu. Danketsu were of no avail and the result was the breaking up of the Daido-Danketsu in April. Elements belonging to the Seishaha in the Daido-Danketsu established a political party called the Daido Club while anti-Seishaha elements

organized another party called the Daido Kyowakai.

The following are the rules of the Daido Club:-

- (1). To strengthen the national power of Japan as an independent country.
- (2). To realize the organization of a responsible Ministry.
- (3). To adjust finances and foster national strength.
- (4). To secure the freedom of speech and organizing various bodies.

Mr. Kentaro Oi and others belonging to anti-Seishaha held a meeting at Yanagibashi on May 10th, at which were present 84 representatives from various districts. The Daido Kyowakai was thus organized. prior to this, Count Goto asked Count Itagaki to come to Tokyo to help him in his efforts to prevent the dissolution of the Daido-Danketsu. Thereupon count Itagaki came to Tokyo but his efforts ended in failure. On January 21st, 1890, the ceremony of re-organizing the Liberal Party was conducted at the Nakamura-ro, Ryogoku, Tokyo, at which 1,000 persons were presented. Mr. Shogo Arai read the following statement:-

Upon the dissolution of the old Liberal Party, members gave a pledge to re-established the Party in future when a favourable opportunity presents itself. since then seven years have elapsed. The Constitution was already promulgated and the first session of the Imperial Diet is about to be convoked. Members deem it quite opportune to re-organize the Liberal Party at this juncture and they have called on Count Itagaki, leader of old Liberals, at Tosa in connection with the plan of re-organizing the Party. Realizing that many members of old Liberal Party are in the camp of the Daido-Danketsu, Count Itagaki proposed to organize an

independent party called the Aikoku Koto (patriots' Party) in order to invite members of old Liberal Party and others to join it. But old Liberals were firm in their determination to re-organize the Party under the same name of Liberal party and carry out thier ideale. This is the reason why the Liberal Party was re-organized under the same old name.

The Platform of the newly-organized Liberal party is as follows:-

The Liberal Party is composed of advocates of liberalism, the Party shall work for the expansion of liberty, for the co-operation of the Throne and people, and for the promotion of the people's happiness and the standard of morals.

The party is also determined to carry out the following purposes:-

1. To establish a Party Cabinet.
2. To establish the Court of Administrative Litigation in order to protect the peopl's rights.
3. To conclude the Treaties with foreign Powers on equal footing.
4. To establish a jury system.
5. To improve and encourage education.
6. To improve the conscription service system and to shorten the term of active service.
7. To abolish the civil service retired system.
8. To curtail the administrative expenditure and the reduce the number of officials.
9. To levy direct taxes on actual profits.
10. To reduce the land tax.
11. To adjust the income tax.

12. To improve and supervise the system of government property.
13. To abolish the capacity of payment of taxes by those to be elected.
14. To grant the right of voting on those who pay more than five yen of direct national tax.
15. To fix the age of those to be elected at over 25 years and of electors at over 20 years.
16. To expand the area of electoral districts.
17. To abolish special protection granted to certain lines of commerce and industry at home.
18. To consolidate the foundations of local autonomy and to improve the systems of prefectural Assemblies.
19. To modify the Resigtration Law.
20. To use part of receipts accruing from the government property for the local autonomy.
21. To abolish the Peace preservation Law.
23. To modify the term of payment of taxes on rice-field and farms.

CHAPTER VI

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE HAMBATSU GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES
IN THE DIET.

In the previous chapters, I have considered the rise and the growth of political parties and their struggles for the establishment of a representative assembly and the destruction of the Hambatsu (clan) government. The establishment of a representative assembly was accomplished, but their plan to break down the Hambatsu government ended in failure. The time now came for the political parties to oppose the policies of the clan government in the Diet, and to check the activity of the government and gradually destroy its influence. Henceforth the great strife between the popular parties and the government was transferred to the House of Representatives. The House of Lords was not to any great extent the scene of the conflict, because that House is composed almost exclusively of princes of the blood and nobles, together with only a few representatives of the people, generally the big tax payers who do not take an active part in political struggles. The contest was, therefore, confined mainly to the House of Representatives.

When the First Diet assembled in Tokio, November 25, 1890, three prominent parties, the Jiyuto, Kaishinto and the Taisei-Kwai were represented in the House. The members of the Taisei-Kwai were mostly ex-officials or conservatives, and their policy was to support the government. These three parties have been the dominant powers in Japanese politics ever since the first Diet was opened. Besides these, the Jichinto (self-governing association?) the Kokumin Jiyuto and several minor factions were represented in the House, but their numbers were small and their policies uncertain. Hence they possessed little influence. Although the two great parties, the Jiyuto and the Kaishinto were not yet consolidated.

They had rallied under one banner in the House that of the Minto (popular party) and thus had a large majority.

During the first session, the most interesting question, the solution of which resulted in a hard blow to the government, was that of the Budget. The Minto thought that the House of Representatives, through its constitutional privilege of discussing the Budget in the first instance (1) could check the activity of the old government. This question was therefore looked upon as the most important one, and the one the discussion of which might result in the resignation of the cabinet or the dissolution of the House.

The House of Representatives received the annual budgetary bill from the government December 6, 1890. Article 40 of the "Law of the House" says: "When the Budget is brought into the House of Representatives by the government, the committee on the Budget shall finish the examination of the same, within fifteen days from the day on which it was received, and report thereon to the House". The committee was bound by the rules to finish its examination by December 20, but on account of prolonged discussion, it was unable to report to the House before February 6, 1891. The committee then recommended a reduction of some eight million yen out of a total expenditure of 83 million yen. As a result of this action, Count Tamagata, then Prime Minister, appeared in the House and opposed the bill as recommended, insisting that the Diet should get the concurrence of the government in order to reduce those expenditures imposed by the constitution, and such other expenditures as might arise in consequence thereof. (2) But the Minto held that the Diet should get the concurrence of the government after it had passed the budget instead of before. Exciting discussions

(1) Japanese constitution, art. 65.

(2) Article 11 of the Japanese Constitution.

followed in the House, but the government finally established its
 contention by a vote of 137 to 108. The House was, therefore, obliged
 to ask the opinion of the government on the budget to be recommended
 to the House by its committee. The government requested re-consideration
 of the matter by the House, which body immediately appointed a special
 committee, which decided to reduce the Budget seven and one half million
 yen. But the affair ended in negotiations being opened with the govern-
 ment, which finally agreed to a reduction of six and one half million
 yen in the expenditures. The Minto could not bring about a reduction
 of eight million yen as they had expected to, they were still very for-
 tunate in securing a reduction of six and one-half million yen.

During the First session of the Diet, the question of the appoin-
 tment of a special committee raised a dispute among the Jiyuto members
 in the House, and twenty nine of the old Aikokuto members separated from
 the party on February 24, 1891, and organized the Jiyu Club which suppor-
 ted the clan government. The prominent members of the club were Katsoka,
 Hayashi and other warm friends of Itagaki, the leader of the Jiyuto.
 Itagaki also followed the lead of his friends and left the Jiyuto.

Itagaki, however, soon rejoined the party. At a meeting held at
 Osaka, March 24, 1891, for the purpose of re-organizing the Jiyuto, he
 was again elected leader. On May 29, the Jiyuto issued a manifesto, the
 essential features of which were as follows:

1. Local self-government should be basis of domestic government.
2. Friendly relations with foreign powers should be the chief aim.

(1) Kudo, Teikoku Gikwai\Shi P.65

(2) Kudo, op. cit. P.67

(3) Jiyuto Sengensho.

3. Naval and military preparations should be on a defensive ~~xxxxx~~ basis.

4. Financial retrenchment.

5. Freedom of education.

6. Judicial independence.

7. Facilitation of communication.

8. Extention of the powers of the legislature.

After the close of the First Session of the Diet the relation between the Jiyuto and Kaishinto became closer and more friendly. They had previously been bitter enemies, as a result of the shrewd policy of the Hambatsu (clan) government until the opening of the Diet, but soon after the convening of that body their traditional ill feeling passed away. Having such a rare opportunity prominent members of the two parties suggested that they should be united entirely under one banner, and on ~~xxxxxxx~~ November 8, 1891, Itagaki visited Okuma, the leader of the Kaishinto at his residence, and concluded an agreement to join forces in the accomplishment of the political work before them. A formal union of the two parties was not affected, however, as had been expected, although there was a sympathy of political feeling which caused considerable uneasiness on the part of the government. The Minto held a banquet just before the opening of the second session of the Diet, and there decided to oppose the policy of the government boldly, and to go to the country upon the merits of the issue. The members of the Jiyu Club were also represented at the banquet, although their political attitude was regarded with a sort of suspicion.

The second session of the Diet was opened, November 21, 1891, (1)
with a majority of the Minto in the House of Representatives.

With matters standing thus, the government expected trouble again in the passing of administration measures. According to expectation, the matter of the Budget became once more the leading question in the House of Representatives.

As before the Budget was referred to the Budget committee, which again recommended a reduction of about eight million out of the total expenditure of eighty three million yen. The government delegates represented that the reduction proposed by the committee was absolutely inconsistent with the interests of good government.⁽¹⁾ Finally as in the previous session, a special committee was appointed to amend the bill which the Budget committee recommended to the House. This committee made a reduction of seven instead of eight million yen. On the day of the adoption of the report of the special committee, the government dissolved the House and ordered a new election.

The patriotism and statesmanlike conduct of the Minto in boldly opposing the clan government was admirable. The latter had monopolized the power of the government since the Restoration, and their commercial and industrial policy had on the whole, been detrimental to the national interest. They had favored a system of government ~~patronages~~ patronages and had sold public undertaking and franchises at low prices. They aimed to secure prosperity and security for themselves instead of for the people and the nation. It was a natural consequence, therefore, that the Minto should want to drive out the man responsible for this policy and established party government for the sake of national interests and prosperity of the people. The new election was held, February 25, ~~xxx~~ 1892, and is

(1) According to the Shugin Ichiran Hiyo, the relative strength of the parties was as follow: The Jiyuto--91
The Kaishinto--44 Taisei-Kwai--61 Liberal club--25
Independents--79

(1) Kudo, op. cit. P. 106.

regarded as the most corrupt political contest in the history of Japan. The popular parties were much incensed at the government's action in dissolving the House, and made desperate efforts to again secure control in the House. On the other hand, the government was equally determined to carry the election and count Matsukata, Prime Minister, through also a Minister of State, ordered local officers to assist the government candidates and oppose those of the popular parties. The spirit and character of the campaign are shown by the fact that over twenty-five men were killed and four hundred injured (1) during the election. In spite of its excessive interference, however, the result of the election was still unsatisfactory to the government.

The Third session of the Diet was called for May 6, 1892. The most remarkable event of the session was the alliance of the two great parties, the Kaishinto and the Jiyuto, by reason of which their strength was increased more than ever. Having a majority in the House, the Minto now sought an opportunity to destroy the clan government, because they were indignant at the dissolution of the Diet, and the interference of the government in the elections. When the Diet was opened, Mr. Kono, a prominent member of the Jiyuto, introduced a motion, to send an address to the Emperor, laying the responsibility for the violence and lawlessness of the recent election, and the violation and pollution of the sacred constitution of Japan upon the cabinet (2) ministers. The motion, however, was defeated by a vote of 143 to 146. But the defeat did not mean that the majority of the House did not admit the interference of the government in the election. Nor did it mean that House refused to arraign the government for its lawlessness and unconstitutional conduct, but simply that the majority of the House thought it

(1) Kudo, op. cit. P. 15

(2) Kudo, op. cit. P. 149.

inexpedient to send an address of this kind to the Emperor.

However, a somewhat more moderate step was taken on May 14, when Mr. Nakamura Yasoku introduced a resolution addressed to the ministry, which attacked the interference of the government officials in the 1st February election and advised them to reconsider their positions for the sake of constitutional government. This resolution was passed by a large majority. Constitutionally, the ministry should have resigned after its passage, but on the contrary the government suspended the House for a week. This act cannot be considered as statesman-like.

Why did the government dissolve the House at its second session when it refused to pass the government bills? Because the government did not control a majority in the House and thought a new election would bring supporters to it. But in that expectation the government was disappointed and the Minto again controlled the House. Why should not the cabinet resign? Why have we the Diet? Did not the Emperor promise in the famous five articles that "a deliberative assembly should be formed by public opinion?" Now the House which represents public opinion passed a resolution censuring the action of the government and yet the cabinet did not resign. This raised again the important question as to whom the ministers of state should be responsible? Should they be responsible to the Emperor or to the Diet? The Minto firmly maintained that the ministers should be responsible to the latter. This is, however, a great political issue in Japan and one has not yet been met.

After the close of the session, the cabinet resigned and Ito formed a new clan ministry. This was known as the famous elder clan cabinet, because it was formed by prominent statesmen of the Sat-Cho clans, except in the case of two portfolios. Mr. Kono, a

friend of the Sat-Cho clans entered the government, and also Mr. Mutsu as minister of foreign affairs. Mr. Mutsu had been regarded as one of the keenest diplomats and statesmen since his political career began. Without his diplomatic service and intellectual power, the Ito cabinet could not easily stand against the restless attacks of the Minto. Mr. Mutsu also had a few intimate friends in the house and a close connection with the Jiyuto. Thus, his place in the clan government was regarded as important.

Before the opening of the fourth session of the Diet, a general meeting of the Kaishinto was held and their policy toward the Ito cabinet was discussed. They decided to adhere to their traditional policy i.e. an antagonistic attitude towards the government and to fight for the reduction of the enormous expenditures. The attitude of the Jiyuto which had a few political friends in the Ito cabinet was regarded as uncertain. Soon after the close of the third session of the Diet, the members of the House, who were elected by the aid of the government, organized the Kokumin Kio Kwai (national society), successor to the Teisei Kwai. Messrs. Saigo and Shinagawa were chosen as its President and vice-president. When the new cabinet came into power, Ito assumed an attitude of neutrality towards the Kokumin Kio-Kwai, because they were in a minority in the House.

It was fortunate therefore, that the government had some influence with the Jiyuto through Mr. Mutsu. Although the real leader of the Jiyuto was Count Itagaki, its actual power was in the hands of Mr. Hoshi, the close friend of Mr. Mutsu. Thus, Mr. Mutsu, utilizing the opportunity, opened negotiation with the Jiyuto to secure their support for the government during the coming session of the Diet. The Jiyuto had exhausted its energy fighting with the clan government since the opening of the ~~XXXXXXX~~ Diet and without

causing any great hindrance to the government's plans. They expected that the Hambatsu government would be destroyed as soon as the first Diet opened as the Minto had a majority, but in this they were disappointed, for although the Minto had fought strongly against the government during the last three sessions, the government had never come under their control as they had expected. Such being the condition the Jiyuto almost accepted Mutsu's offer, and for that reason were attacked by the Kaishinto. But during the Fourth Session, the Jiyuto still maintained the old alliance with the Kaishinto and gave the hardest blow to the administration.

Again the Budget became the crucial question in the Diet, the government presenting a Budget for eighty four million yen to meet the annual expenditures, only to have it again cut down by the Budget committee by nine million yen, mostly from the salaries of officials. Why did the House desire to reduce the official salaries? According to Mr. Kono, the best authority in the house, the salaries of Japanese officials were higher comparatively than those of officials in European countries, the standard of living of the Japanese being every low as compared with that of Europeans. ⁽¹⁾ It may not be improper to ask who were those officials and what was their origin? They were mostly men of the Sat-Cho clans or their followers who had governed Japan so despotically and oppressively since the Restoration. It was they who corrupted the elections, and circumvented the sacred constitution which His Majesty the Emperor gave to the people. The Minto's desire to reduce the salaries of the officials of the Hambatsu government was a most natural one, and we cannot but admire the wise judgment and bold attitude of the statesmen who insisted upon it.

The government again made a strong fight against the



reduction proposed by the Minto and should its determination to dissolve the House if the demands of the government was refused. But the majority persisted ⁱⁿ its course. An address to the Emperor with reference to the Budget, complaining of the action of the Ministers was passed on February 7 and presented to the Emperor. On the 10th, the Emperor issued an order giving three hundred thousand yen from the Privy purse for use in the construction of warships, and also providing that all officials salaries should be reduced by one tenth for the period of six years, the money to be used for the same purpose. The order of the Emperor led the members of the House to abandon their former attitude, and the house finally agreed to a reduction of the Budget by some three instead of the nine million yen, and thus the crisis was ⁽¹⁾ passed.

During the last four sessions, the close union of the Kaishinto and Jiyuto resulted in serving opposition to the Yabatsu government, this opposition being felt particularly in the management of the Budget. But after the close of the Fourth session, the policies of the two organization again became antagonistic. The Kashinto still maintained the principle of the anti-clan government but the Jiyuto came to the support of the government. This was due mainly to the influence of Mr. Mutsu, and the feud between the Kaishinto and the Jiyuto was more bitter than ever before. In the Jiyuto, several members who were indignant at the personal conduct of Mr. Hoshi and his policy toward the government, seceded from the Jiyuto and ^formed the Doshi club.

Although the power of the so-called Minto was much weakened by the loss of the Jiyuto, yet this loss was partly repaired through the friendly relations which sprang up with the Kokumin Kio-Kwai, the former supporters of the government, and which now

(1) Kudo op. cit. P. 235.

joined forces with the Kaishinto. It seems rather strange that a party organized to support the clan government, should make an alliance with a party directly opposed to that government. Moreover, several minor parties, the Domie club, the Seimu chosa and the Dai Nippon Kio-Kwai became allies of the Kaishinto. In this way the so-called Roppa (six factions) maintained a majority in the House.

The most interesting questions brought out during the next session of the Diet were the case of Mr. Hoshi the president of the House and treaty revision. Soon after the opening of the fifth session on November 25, 1893, a charge of bribery was brought against President Hoshi. He was not, however, the only one who took bribes and this charge was made for the purpose of attacking his position in the House. He was opposed by the popular parties because he was the actual leader of the Jiyuto and because through his efforts, the Jiyuto became the supporters of the government. They, therefore, waited an opportunity to turn on him and oust him from the President's chair. Finally, the House passed a resolution by a vote of 166 to 119 to the effect that the House no longer had confidence in Mr. Hoshi as its president. Mr. Hoshi had many many foes, because he was a man of unusually strong will and energy, with a strong touch of egotism. He was slow to recognize the merits of others. In this estimation Japan had but one great political leader in which capacity he was disposed to ⁽¹⁾poss himself, expecting others as a matter of course to follow his dictates. "Being a man of such character he refused to resign the Presidential chair on the ground that the charges were false. The House then sent an address to the Emperor, and asked that Mr. Hoshi be compelled to resign from the Presidency of the House, but this also was unsuccessful.

(1) Taigo Vol. VII, no 8, P. 1

Finally, the case of Mr. Hoshi was given to a disciplinary committee which decided to expel Mr. Hoshi from the House.

The question of the expulsion of Mr. Hoshi being disposed of the old question of the treaty enforcement was taken up again. This question came up often but was not discussed at length until toward the close of the session when a long address to the Emperor was drawn up by Mr. Yuwane, the leader of the Japan society. The address maintained the various wrongs under which Japan had suffered from foreigners. Mr. Mutsu, then minister of foreign affairs made a most sagacious speech in the House and apposed the strict enforcement of the old treaties. He said in concluding his speech that since the restoration our diplomatic and national policy has been a progressive one. The marvelous development in national power, commerce and industry has been due to their policy. The enforcement of the present treaties is, therefore, opposed to the national policy. He also declared that such an address would prove a hindrance to the course of treaty revision. The House paid no attention to his wise warning, however, and proceeded to debate the address with the result that the House was dissolved and new election ordered.

On March 1, 1894, the election of a new Diet was held, and the government took extraordinary precautions that the election should be fair and peaceful one. As a result of the election the Jiyuto which commanded 81 members in the former Diet, had succeed in returning 119 members. The Kashinto who has 42 members in the old House were able to return 60 members. But the Kokumin lost heavily and 35 members were returned.

Soon after the dissolution of the fifth session, a rumor

(1) Hakesski, Mutsu Munemitsu P. 150

*Unfused
page.*

CHAPTER VII.

CO-ALITION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES WITH THE HAMBATSU GOVERNMENT.

As has already been said two Diets were dissolved in succession on the question of enforcing the provisions of the old treaties. These dissolutions increased the opposition of the popular parties to the government. After the last dissolution the prominent leaders of the parties met, and passed a resolution to the effect that if intrusted with power they would adopt a strong foreign policy, and established a responsible government.

Within a few months after the last dissolution of the Diet, the China-Japanese war broke out. This event gave a new turn to the political and industrial development of Japan. While the government was involved in the difficulties of the war, the troublesome question of treaty revision was rapidly approaching a solution through the efforts of Mr. Mutsu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The new Anglo-Japanese treaty was signed, July 16, 1894, and on the whole, was received with approval by the people. The successful conclusion of the new treaty was due to the diplomatic genius and skill of Mr. Mutsu, who may be regarded as one of the greatest diplomats Japan ever produced.

The election of the House of Representatives took place, September 1, 1894, while the war was in progress. The patriotic enthusiasm of the people was at its highest pitch, and the balloting was carried on without any serious conflict between opposing forces. The election did not result in any great change in the strength of any of the political parties, and although the government obtained the support of the Jiyuto, it was unable to control a majority in the Diet. As the adoption of an enormous Budget would be increasing in order to meet the expenses of the war, the opening of the Diet was watched

(1) The result of the election was as follows:--
 Jiyuto--115. Kaichinto--47. Kokushinto--40. Kokumin
 Kio-Kwai--35. Independents--63.

with keen popular interest. This session of the Diet which was the seventh was a special session and was opened at Hiroshima, October 15, 1894. The government immediately brought in a bill for an appropriation of one hundred fifty million yen to meet the expenses of the war, and it was passed at once without opposition. If the combined force of the popular parties which controlled the House had opposed the extraordinary expenditure of the administration, it would have proven a great hindrance to the successful conduct of the war. Japanese statesmen filled with the patriotism of the hour dropped their political jealousies and conflicts, and gave their united support to the nation. This special session of Diet came to an end October 20, 1894, and the Eighth regular session was opened, December 22 at Tokio. The Eighth session was also characterized by an absence of political strife and the parties again united to support the government and passed the Budget with absolute unanimity.

On April 17, 1895, the treaty of peace was signed between Japan and China. While the Japanese were rejoicing over the victory the clouds of foreign intervention suddenly appeared upon the horizon, and soon obscured "the rising sun" of Japanese glory. It now became known that Russia, Germany and France would interfere in the Japanese occupation of the Liao Tung peninsula which Japan had just obtained by the terms of the treaty of Shimonoseki. Japan won a great victory in the war, but through short sighted diplomacy, lost the fruits of it in the treaty of peace, and was obliged to give up the Liao Tung peninsula gained by the Japanese soldiery in a war that opened the eyes of the world to the strength of the eastern empire.

Although the political parties had given the government

their hearty support while the war was in progress, mainly through patriotic motives, its diplomatic failure at the close of the war, again aroused their active opposition. Naturally, the blame for the retrocession of the Liao Tung peninsula fell upon the government. The responsibility of the government again became the burning question of the day, and following the shrewd policy of Mutsu and Ito, the government endeavored to secure the support of the Jiyuto. As a consequence
(1)
the Jiyuto in July 1895, announced:

That the close relations of our country with foreign powers during recent years would be liable to bring a diplomatic crisis at any moment. The situation being so critical the national administration should only be exercised with extraordinary discretion with respect to our future policies. Although the retrocession of the Liao-Tung peninsula is indeed regrettable, it should not be allowed to cause internecine strife which might result in grave disturbance to the conduct of national policies. The most pressing necessity of the nation at the present time is the formulation of plans for the future. We shall therefore, labor together in a spirit of true patriotism with those who possess the same ideas as our party for the success of national and foreign policies.

This resolution shows plainly that the Jiyuto was inclining to support the government. Finally, early in November a reconciliation was effected between the Jiyuto and the government. For the first time since the adoption of the constitution, this party became the avowed supporter of the government. The reasons for this reconciliation may
(3)
be found in a speech of a prominent member of the Jiyuto. He says:

(1) Jiyuto Ketsugi

(2) New York Nation, Vol. 62, P. 95.

"It is our conviction that by taking this step (i.e. coalition with the government), we shall effectually promote the introduction of a system of responsible cabinets a consummation which has ever been the cherished hope of the Liberal party. For the attainment of that hope we have suffered much but the sole result of our endeavour has hitherto been to strengthen the government's resistance to the realization of our object. To continue the fruitless struggle at the present juncture would be not only to thwart the carrying out of various measures of parliamentary importance, but also to retard the attainment of our long-cherished objects. It may be well to discuss here briefly whether or not the reconciliation was a wise policy. From the beginning of the constitutional government up to this time eight sessions of the Diet had been held. Political parties were organized even before the opening of the Diet with the object of destroying the Hamatsu government, and establishing a responsible government in its place. Fortunately, the so-called popular parties had a majority in the Diet from the first session as has been already stated; yet then were able to do nothing more than reduce the Budget a few million yen. Their expectation of destroying the Hamatsu government has not been realized. Being in such a condition, the Jiyuto thought that the quickest way to introduce a responsible system of government would be to join forces with the government. This step of the Jiyuto was a natural and well chosen means of connecting the Hamatsu control in responsible government. It was in accord with the principle of evolution, and was much better than to have continued the fruitless struggle against the Hamatsu control.

(1)

The representatives of the Kaishinto and five parties

(1) Kakuehinto, Chuokoku Shimpoto, Ote Club, Zaisei
Kakushin Kwai, Kokumin Kio-Kwai.

met at Tokio, and resolved to denounce the government for the diplomatic failure of the war, to strengthen the military forces and reform the diplomatic policies in order to raise the national dignity, and to preserve the Japanese prestige in Korea. Many prominent speakers were sent throughout the country to advocate the policies of the resolution.

On December 25, 1895, the Ninth session of the Diet was convened. As was expected, January 9, 1896 a resolution was addressed to the Emperor by the members of the Kaishinto and other factions, laying the responsibility of the retrocession of the peninsula on the members of the (1) cabinet. This resolution was opposed by the Kokumin Kio-Kwai which has sided with the opposition since the Fifth session of the Diet. Although a small body in the House, they yet held the balance of power, and the resolution was defeated by a vote of 170 to 103. The majority of the members who opposed the resolution recognized the diplomatic failure of the ministers, but in order to allow them to conduct the political affairs of the country after the war they did not charge them with responsibility for the retrocession.

Suddenly, February 11, 1896, the Korean coup d'etat occurred. Japanese soldiers and subjects were attacked in various parts of Korea. Several members of the Lower House laid the blame for this outbreak upon the weak and fruitless diplomatic policy of the Ito cabinet. The diplomatic failure of the cabinet in Korea aroused the indignation of the Kokumin Kio-Kwai which had opposed the address at the opening of the session. Mr. Saasa, a prominent member of the Kokumin Kio-Kwai (2) introduced a resolution as follows:

The House recognize the maladministration of the present

(1) Kudo, op cit. P. 475.

(2) Kokumin Kio-Kwai Ketsugi.

cabinet in dealing with important foreign and home questions. The recent outbreak in Korea show evidently the weak and fruitless diplomatic policies of the cabinet. Hence we declare the government does not merit the confidence of the nation. The resolution greatly pleased the anti-government parties, for the Kokumin Kio-Kwai had been regarded as a supporter of the government. Suddenly, the government suspended the session of the House for ten days, and during the interval, with the influence of Viscount Shinagawa induced the Kokumin Kio-Kwai to withdraw the resolution. When the Diet reassembled on the 25th, Mr. Sassa gave notice to the House that he wished to withdraw the resolution he had previously introduced. The Jiyuto saw that if they opposed the withdrawal, they would have the support of the opposition parties, and when the resolution came to vote they would have the support of the Kokumin Kio-Kwai which first introduced it. This manoeuvre was carried out with complete success, and the Kokumin Kio-Kwai were forced to eat their own words by voting against it. The resolution was
(1)
defeated by a vote of 165 to 101.

The defeat of the address and the resolution aroused enthusiasm among the opponents of the government, and led to the consolidation of the different factions, the purpose being to strengthen their position in the Diet. The same day the address was defeated in the House, i.e. January 9, the supporters of the anti-government parties called a meeting to discuss the question of amalgamation under one banner. Finally, at a meeting January 18, the union of the popular parties was effected. On January 20, another meeting was held, and it was then agreed to dissolve the old parties, and to establish a new party with a new name. It was called the Shimpoto (progressive party), and was actually constituted, March 1, 1896.

(1) Kudo p. cit. P. 523.

It was an amalgamation of the Kaishinto, the Kaishinto, Ote club, the Chugoku Shimpoto, the Zaisei Kakushin Kwei and a few independents. In the manifesto issued soon after its organization the new party announced the following programme.

1. The reform of administrative evils, and the establishment of a system of responsible cabinet government.
2. The adoption of a strong foreign policy and the assertion of national rights.
3. The adjustment of the finances and the development of national industries.

The amalgamation of the various groups into a political party on a broad national basis received the general approval of the people. Even since the first opening of the Diet the House had been divided into several groups prevented the establishment of responsible government. With the consummation of this organization the Shimpoto, two great parties were brought face in the Diet for the first time since its opening. This event was regarded as an important step towards the realization of responsible cabinet government.

The Jiyuto had supported the government during the ninth session of the Diet and sanctioned its difficult post billon measures, i.e., military and naval expansion. But they had not been rewarded for their sacrifice, and were greatly disappointed at the action of the government. Itagaki, as the leader of the party demanded some recognition of their services through Baron Miyoji Ito who acted as intermediating between the government and the Jiyuto. His demand was granted and he entered the cabinet, April 4, 1896, as minister of Home affairs. Mr. Hoshi, another prominent member of the Jiyuto was appointed envoy extraordinary and Minister plenipotentiary to the

United States of America, while a few other members were given governorship in the provinces. The Kokumin Kio-Kwai which had also supported the government was not recognized in this awarding of offices, and at once resolved to withdraw their support.

Very soon after Itagaki entered the cabinet, the Positions of Ministers of foreign affairs and minister of Finance became vacant through the resignations of Mutsu and Watanabe. Count Inouye advised Ito to appoint Count Matsukata as Minister of finance, and Count Okuma as minister of foreign affairs. Itagaki was opposed to the appointment of Okuma because he was the leader of the anti-government part. Ito asked Matsukata to enter the cabinet, but he refused unless Okuma should be appointed to serve with him. Finally, Ito and Itagaki resigned and the Matsukata Okuma cabinet was formed.

Okuma, as leader of the progressives had for many years advocated responsible cabinets and the complete destruction of the clan government. It seems rather strange, therefore, that he should have formed a cabinet with Matsukata, a Hamabatsu man, and a supporter of the clan government. Okuma, following the example set by Ito and Itagaki thought the only means of organizing a ministry was to form a coalition with the Hamabatsu. When Itagaki entered the cabinet, the Jiyuto became the supporters of the government. The Shimpoto following this precedent, held a meeting and announced that the policy of the government did not differ materially from their own and that they would, therefore, support it. ⁽¹⁾ The conditions upon which Itagaki and Okuma entered the cabinet were, however, essentially different in one particular. The former went into the Ito cabinet without any understanding as to methods of conducting the administration, but the latter ⁽²⁾ only formed a cabinet with Matsukata on the following express conditions;

(1) Shimpoto Ketsugi.

(2) Kudo, op. cit. P. 557.

namely;

1. That the ministers should accept responsibility as body.
2. That there should be a reorganization of the administration and a thorough reform of the finances.
3. That popular demands should be adopted and the rights of men respected.

The Tenth session of the Diet was convened December 23, 1896. Notwithstanding the bitter attack of the Jiyuto, the Matsukata-Okuma cabinet was able to carry through many important measures with the support of the Shimpoto and other factions. Among the most important measures which passed both House were the revision of the press law and the adoption of the gold standard. The former extended the civil rights of the people, and the latter established the monetary system on a firm basis.

It was confidently expected that the Matsukata-Okuma cabinet would be marked by political progress and introduction of real constitutional government in Japan. These expectations were doomed to disappointment. The constitutional proposals of Okuma did not harmonize with the despotic view of the ministers who represented the Sat-Cho clans. Although Prime Minister Matsukata declared the necessity of administrative reorganization and financial reforms, he paid little attention to these questions.

On the contrary, the government increased its expenditures and drew up a bill for an increase of the land tax to be presented at the coming session of the Diet. These actions of the government offended Count Okuma, and at a meeting of the cabinet in the latter part

(3) Matsukata's speech delivered at the meeting of provincial governors October 13, 1896.

(1)

October 1897, he proposed the following reforms,; the removal of discordant elements from the cabinet, revision of the Budget, reform of administrative abuses and disavowal of non-constitutional acts. The Shimpoto also opposed the policy of the government and its standing committee at a meeting, held October 22, 1897, passed a resolution containing practically the same proposals as were presented by Okuma at the cabinet meeting. This resolution was presented to the Premier. The premier, Matsukata, replied that outside interference would not be recognized in the conduct of the government, for he had been intrusted by the Emperor with the administration of affairs of state. This reply was the ultimatum which broke off relations between the government and the Shimpoto. Okuma then resigned the portfolio of foreign affairs, while his friends who had secured posts as party men also resigned.

As soon as the Shimpoto withdraw their support from the government, Mr. Matsuda of the Jiyuto communicated with Mabauna, Minister of state, on the matter of forming a coalition government. A meeting of the standing committee of the Jiyuto was held November 18, and Mr. Matsuda presented the following concessions as a condition of the party's support:

1. The appointment of Mr. Hashi to the portfolio of the judiciary, and another member of the Jiyuto to some other cabinet seat during the eleventh session of the Diet.
2. The appointment of five or six governors and a few other high officials from the Jiyuto.
3. The payment by the government of a part of the expenses

(1) Kudo Op. Cit. P. 600

(2) Jiyuto Ketsugi November 18, 1897.

of the coming general election of the Lower House.

Some members of the Jiyuto approved this coalition, but the majority were strongly opposed. As a result of plan was given up, and on December 15, members of the Jiyuto passed a resolution stating that they would introduce a bill expressing want of confidence in the present government. The Shinto also assumed an antagonistic attitude towards the government. The Kokumin Kio-Kwai took a similar position although the government tried in various ways to gain their friendship and support. The government was, therefore, left without any support from the political parties when the eleventh session of the Diet was convened December 21, 1897.

At the opening of the Diet, Mr. Luzuki, a member of the House introduced a resolution stating that the present government no longer possessed the confidence of the House. While it was discussing this resolution the house was dissolved. At the same time the cabinet resigned and Ito at once formed a new ministry. Ito had previously approached Okuma with a proposition to form a cabinet, but Okuma's demands were excessive and Ito refused them. He then turned to Itagaki, the leader of the Jiyuto, with the suggestion that a coalition be formed as had been done just after the war. Itagaki demanded a seat in the cabinet, but Ito hesitated and requested him to wait until the election was over. Ito finally formed a cabinet from among his younger political friends, or rather his political disciples. When the election was over, the Jiyuto made overtures, with a view to bringing about an alliance between the party and the Ito cabinet. These negotiations continued for many weeks but finally came to an abrupt conclusion without success.

The 12th session of the Diet was opened, May 19, 1898, it being a special session, the deliberations of which were to continue for only twenty-one days. In these few days the government expected to pass bills, increasing taxation, changing the mode of national election and revising the civil code. When the bill for increasing the land tax was laid before the Lower House, members representing moral districts opposed it vigorously. The government secured only twenty seven votes out of a possible three hundred. The answer was an immediate dissolution of the House on June 10.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REALIZATION OF PARTY GOVERNMENT.

The dissolution of the twelfth Diet greatly stimulated the activity of the party leaders, and hastened the reconciliation of the two great political parties, the Jiyuto and Shimpoto. As has been shown in previous chapters, the principles of these two parties were practically identical, yet they had been continually hostile towards each other except during the first four sessions of the Diet. Through their quarreling they left the field open for their enemies, the Sat-Cho clans, which made the most of their opportunities and played off one party against the other. The following declaration of Itagaki was indeed true. "Each party has tried the experiment of co-operation with the clan statesmen, and each has found it a failure. The reason is that the government attaches no real importance to political parties but merely consults its own convenience in taking them up and then casting them off."⁽¹⁾

As has been shown in the preceding chapter, when the Ito cabinet introduced a bill for increasing land tax the two parties, the Jiyuto and Shimpoto, unitedly opposed the bill, and thus dealt a very hard blow to the administration. Although the House was dissolved the government fully realized the importance of the united strength of the two parties. The party leaders thought that by united action they would be able to crush the monopoly of the Hattatsu government, and that party government could be introduced in its place. For this reason, therefore, united under one banner.

About three days previous to the dissolution of the 12th Diet, Mr. Hirakawa Kotaro, a member of the Lower House invited several of his old political friends, among them Mr. Kono of the Shimpoto, and Sugita, Kurihara and Nishiyama of the Jiyuto, to a con-

(1) Nation, Vol. 67, no. 1724.

ference at his residence, and suggested the organization of a political party through the union of the Jiyuto, Shimpoto and certain independent factions. ⁽¹⁾ This proposal received the hearty approval of those present, and marks the first step in the direction of the amalgamation of the great political parties. On the day, immediately following the dissolution of the twelfth Diet, five representatives from each of the great parties, the Jiyuto and Shimpoto, met again, and perfected definite arrangements for the formation of a new party. A preliminary meeting held on June 16, the leaders of the opposition parties, Okuma and Itagaki were present, and exchanged warm congratulations and expressed their desires to work together harmoniously for the welfare of the nation. On June 21, each party was dissolved and on the following day, the organization of the new political party, the Kenseito (Constitutional party) was formally completed. The reasons of the amalgamation were clearly set forth in the manifesto which says firstly that five sessions of the Diet had been dissolved without due cause, since its establishment; ⁽²⁾ secondly, that the fruits of constitutional government had never been obtained and that the ideals of the political parties had never been realized on account of the existence of the Set-Cho Hambatsu government. The platform of the Kenseito which was announced the same day, ⁽³⁾ dealt with many important questions. Among which were the following:

1. Reverence for the Imperial House and maintenance of the constitution.
2. Establishment of a party cabinet and the introduction of ministerial responsibility.

(1) Tokio Keizai Zasshi no. 1077 P. 803.

(2) Kenseito Sengensho

(3) Kenseito Koryo.

3. Restriction of interference of the central authorities in affairs of local self-government.
4. Preservation of national rights and the extension of international commerce.
5. Establishment of the national finances on a firm basis and the preservation of a balance of receipts and expenditures.
6. Promotion of domestic and foreign commerce and the development of national industries.
7. Development of military defence according to national needs.
8. Speedy completion of means of transportation and communication.
9. Extension of popular education and the encouragement of technical and industrial instruction.

The amalgamation of the political parties received universal approval throughout the country, although there were few who criticised the union on the ground that it was made too soon, and that the new party would not, therefore, endure any great length of time. We shall see later whether or not this was true. The sudden and rather unexpected organization of the Kenseito, however, alarmed the Hombatsu government, which now realized that the new party would be a great obstacle to the Ito cabinet as well as to the Hombatsu power. In order therefore, to protect themselves, the advisability of forming a government party was discussed at a conference of the cabinet members on June 24 in the presence of His Majesty the Emperor, at which Marquises Ito, Saigo, Yamagata and Oyama, Counts Inouye and Kuroda were present. Ito suggested the formation of such a political party under the direction and control of the Sat-Chō clans, but Yamagata was opposed the reason that the

formation of such a party would be contrary to the spirit of the Japanese constitution. ⁽¹⁾ As a result Ito resigned from the cabinet and recommended Okuma and Itagaki to the Emperor as his successors.

The formation of a new cabinet under the leadership of Counts Okuma and Itagaki was announced on June 30. The new cabinet ⁽²⁾ has constituted almost entirely on party lines. The only exceptions were the portfolios of the hands of the former ministers.

The other eight ministers were members of the Kenseito. The long cherished ambition of Japanese statesmen to form a party cabinet was at last realized.

This first party cabinet was organized with national approval and its supporters at the start confidently affirmed that it would have a long term. Within a few months, however, the new cabinet showed signs of failure when called upon to solve the following difficult problems.

1. The preservation of the balance of power between the two old parties, the Jiyuto and Shimpoto;
2. The suppression of their jealousies;
3. The management of the patronage of office now at the disposal of the cabinet. The principal policy of the Kenseito cabinet was to preserve the balance of power between Mr. Ozaki, the two factions but the distribution of the portfolios actually made in favor of the Shimpoto. Therefore, the cabinet ministers

1. Tokio Keizai Zasshi no. 1077, P 803.

2. Premier, and ministers for foreign affairs, Count Okuma. Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Oishi. Minister of Justice, Ohigashi. Minister of Education Ozaki. Home Minister, Itagaki. Minister of Communication Hayashi. Minister of Finance, Matsuda.

of the former Jiyuto advised Okuma to give the post of foreign affairs to Mr. Hoshi, formerly of the Jiyuto, in order to preserve the balance of power, a request which Okuma refused.

On August 31, 1898, occurred an incident which caused the downfall of the Kenseito cabinet. Mr. Ozaki, the minister of Education and an adherent of the former Shimpoto, delivered an address before the Educational Association, in which he declaimed against the money making propensities of the Japanese young men. In order to explain more clearly the powerlessness of money, he said "that even in America, where the plutocracy was most powerful, the people did not elect a millionaire to the president", whereas, he thought, "if Japan were a republic, the people would likely to elect the wealthier man to the highest position." This reference to a republican form of the government coming from a cabinet minister was severely criticised by the conservative statesmen, and the leaders of the former Jiyuto took advantage of this opportunity to attack Mr. Ozaki with the intention of causing his dismissal from the cabinet, and having the vacancy filled by a member of the former Jiyuto. The result was that Mr. Ozaki was obliged to resign, but some days before he handed in his resignation to the Emperor, Itagaki demanded that one of the former members of the Jiyuto be appointed to fill the vacancy, but this the Premier, Okuma refused. A cabinet meeting was held to discuss the question but it ended without a definite decision. On October 27, Okuma recommended to the Emperor that Mr. Inukai, formerly of the Shimpoto, be appointed to fill the vacancy of Mr. Ozaki and the Emperor at once endorsed the recommendation. This action of Count Okuma caused the indignation of Itagaki who, with two ministers

of the former Jiyuto, resigned. Okuma also resigned, and Yamagata formed a new cabinet.

Previous to the resignation of the Okuma-Itagaki cabinet, the Jiyuto faction had held a meeting and decided to dissolve the Ken-seito and start a new party having the same manifesto, the same principles and the same name as the old Kenseito. The Shimpoto faction also met and decided to dissolve and start a new party, the Kensei Honto (original constitutional party), having the same manifesto and the same principles as the old Kenseito.

The short life of the Kenseito and its party cabinet was a great disappointment to the people. Some of the causes of this failure were; 1st, although they said in the manifesto that "in order to bring about the full completion of constitutional government, they decided to dissolve and together unite in forming a party of persons in sympathy with each other," yet their union was not a true one imbued with the same spirit and determination. Their union was but a temporary coalition, in which for the time their mutual jealousy and distrust were merely veiled. It was an artificial, not a natural union. Although they were amalgamated into a political party, yet they were divided into endless clubs, cliques and associations. It was a natural consequence that such a combination should not long exist. The second cause which led to the failure of the Kenseito was the personality of the leaders, Okuma and Itagaki. The progressive and broad-minded policy of the former did not harmonize with the narrow views of the latter. Although Itagaki possessed strong points as a statesman, yet his narrow-mindedness always resulted in the failure of his plans. The third cause of the failure of the party was the fact that few of its elements were ⁽¹⁾ true adherents of Ito, and were willing at any time to desert at Ito's order. They were always looking for trouble and awaited any pretense however slight,

(1) The 19th century, vol. XLVI P 146.

upon which to leave the party. How can any political party exist with such elements and such personality for leaders? The dissolution of the Kenseito came in the natural course of events.

The Yamagata cabinet which was the successor of the Okuma-Itagaki cabinet was formed outside of party lines, and exclusively from the Hamatsu elements. The coming session of the Diet was therefore looked upon as rather difficult situation for the government because it was without the support of any of the political parties. Such being the state of affairs, Yamagata opened negotiations with the new Kenseito (old Jiyuto) seeking to secure their support from the government, which overtures were accepted upon condition that a few seats in the cabinet be vacated and placed at the disposal of Itagaki's followers. Yamagata objected to this proposal and it seemed for a time that the alliance would fail. But finally through the friendly mediation of Ito, the new Kenseito became the ally of the government, and issued a public announcement to the effect that the views of the government were in

accord with their own and that the government could be relied upon to promote the welfare of the nation and perfect the constitution (1) This understanding between the Kenseito and the government was the result of money judiciously distributed amongst party members and was not the result of the appointment of party members to cabinet positions.

The thirteenth session of the Diet was opened November 7, 1898, and it was at once seen that the attitude of the Kensei Honto (former Shimpoto) towards the government was one hostility. They early decided to oppose the government bitterly but the Kokumin, Kiokun and the new Kenseito having given their support to the government, the efforts of the Kensei Honto were in vain.

(1) An announcement which was issued on Nov. 39.

During the session, the most important bill was one for increasing
 (1)
 the land tax which was passed in the Lower House. This bill had failed to pass at the Previous session on account of the united opposition of the Jiyuto and Shimpoto. It was through the efforts of the Kenseito that this bill became a law although members cast their votes according to their own wishes and not according to the wishes of their constituents. The voters, being mostly farmers who pay comparatively heavy taxes, objected to this bill, but the corrupt members of the Kenseito sold their votes to the Administration. "The English people think they are free" says Rousseau, "they deceive themselves, they are free only during the election of the members of parliament; as soon as they are
 (2)
 elected, the people are enslaved and have no power." The same is as true for Japan as of England.

After the close of the Thirteenth session of the Diet, the Kensei Honto sent political speakers all over the country calling the attention of voters to the political questions of the day, such as the adjustment of the administration of the land tax. Their speeches greatly aroused the people. On November, 17, a general meeting of the Kensei Honto was held to discuss the policies to be advocated in the coming session, and the following programme was sanctioned:

1. "Administrative adjustment in the army and navy, Education and all three other directions. Restoration of the land tax, post and telegraph rates and the soy tax to their former level with recourse to new sources of taxation. 2. Active conduct of foreign affairs, extension of national interests in prestige, preservation of the territorial integrity of China and Corea, 3. Reduction of

(1) Tokio Keizai Zasshi op. cit. P. 804.

(2) Rousseau, social contract BC 11 Chap.15

of unproductive enterprises in the Budget, encouragement of education, development of national resources, rapid completion of means of communication and transport and of works for preventing floods, 4. Reform of the abuses of officialdom, and of the evil of interference with
(1)
elections."

The Kenseito also adopted a political programme for the coming session of the Diet as follows:

1. The extension of franchise, 2 state purchase of private railways and the completion of projected lines, 3 state defrayment of local
(2)
prison expenditures, 4 abolition of the law of political associations.

The platform of the Keisei Honto was well written, represented the true sentiment of the people and the real political ideas of the party; and showed clearly the attitude the party intended going to take against the government which had no credit with the people. The administrative failure of the government in the army, navy and other directions was unquestioned, and the diplomatic failure of the government in the question of the preservation of the territorial integrity of China and Corea showed a weak and stupid policy. The abuses of officialdom had already reached almost beyond remedy, the interference of the government in elections had been become a common practice. The corrupt administration and unconstitutional conduct of the government were due to the lack of true statesmanship and ability on the part of cabinet members. Who would be satisfied with a government displaying such inefficiency and such corruption? The platform of the Kensei Honto was along the line of true statesmanship and displayed the real patriotism of which Japanese people have been so proud

(1) The Asiatic Society of Japan Vol. XIX part 11 P. 444

(2) Lay, op. cit. P. 445

for many generations.

The platform of the Kenseito also mentioned a few very important policies of the party, which would be followed at the next session of the Diet; but on the whole, it could not be compared with that of the Kensei Honto. It did not show the same national spirit and honest interest in the welfare of the people. The extension of the franchise and state ownership of private railways were matters of local interest, while state defrayment of local prison expenditure was not important question at all. The abolition of the law of political associations was the wisest and most interesting plank in the platform. On the whole, the platform of the Kenseito did not represent the true spirit and keen desire of the party was it was limited by the co-operative alliance with the government. For the sake of money they had sacrificed their principles and the welfare of the people.

The fourteenth session of the Diet was formally opened on November 22, 1899 with the government supported by the Kenseito and the Teikokuto (old Kokumin KioKwai). The government had, therefore, almost complete control of the House. All government bills were passed without the least opposition. The most important bill come up during the session was the revised election law.

CHAPTER IX

RISE OF THE RIKKEN SEIYU KWAI AND MARQUIS ITO'S PARTY CABINET.

Turning from the development and activities of political parties in Japan, we come now to a discussion of the most important political party which has ever appeared in the political life of the Empire, the Rikken Seiyu Kwai (party of Friends of Constitutional government.) After the close of the fourteenth session of the Diet, the Kenseito was not satisfied with merely receiving money for its service in supporting the government, but desired to form a coalition with the Hamabata in order to gain a share in the government with that end in view, they made two propositions to the Yamagata cabinet, March 30,⁽¹⁾ 1900, merely:

1. To require the cabinet members to join the Kenseito;
2. If this could not be done to give seats in the cabinet to the Kenseito members.

The Premier, Yamagata, refused to take action on the propositions at once on account of the approaching wedding of His Imperial Highness, the Crown prince, and it was not until May 31st, that the general commissioners again brought the question to the attention of the Premier, Yamagata answered as follows:⁽²⁾

1. The entrance of the cabinet members into the Kenseito could not be carried out immediately because the matter concerns individuals;
2. The entrance of the Kenseito members into the cabinet could not be decided by the Premier because the matter concerns the right of the Emperor.

Members of the Kenseito were indignant at the reply of the Premier, and notified him that the Kenseito could no longer co-operate with the government. The general commissioners of the Kenseito,

(1) Tokio Keizai Zasshi no. 1077 P. 805.

(2) Ibid.

Messrs. Hoshi, Suyematsu, Hayashi, Matsuda and Katooka they called on Marquis Ito and invited him to enter their party as its head. He informed them that he would consider the matter carefully and answer later. After the fall of the Ito cabinet in May, 1901, he delivered several lectures throughout the country on the necessity of the reconstructing political parties, and it was for this reason that the general commissioners of the Kenseito invited him to enter the party as its leader. On July 8, the commissioners again met Ito, and he then formally refused to join the Kenseito inasmuch as he himself intended to organize a new political party. As we have seen the statement of the Sat-Chi clans enjoying a monopoly of the government were naturally opposed to the appointment of Messrs. Okuma and Itagaki, the leaders of the old Kenseito, to the cabinet as their successors. But Ito, being a progressive and broad minded statesman, recognized the necessity of political parties in the constitutional system and acknowledged the right of members of political parties to form a cabinet. He said the perfection of constitutional government could be attained only when a political party which controls a majority in the Diet forms a

(1)
cabinet. Ito, having studied the history of constitutional government in Europe and America, well knew the necessity of political parties, and understood that a cabinet could not exist without the support of political parties, even in Japan, and it was for this reason that he had suggested the formation of a political party as an organ of support to the Hombatsu government, after the amalgamation of the Jiyuto and Shimpoto. Although his plan was rejected by the cabinet, he never gave it up, but always kept it in mind. After the dissolution of the Ito cabinet, he lost no opportunity to express his opinions

(1) Ito's speech on "Election Reforms", Feb. 30, 1900.

of the necessity of re constructing political parties.

On August 25, 1900 the formation of the Seiyu Kwai, successor to the Jiyuto and the Kenseito was announced; and its platform of principles issued by Ito. In order to gain better understanding the manifesto, we shall consider it under four heads. (1)

1. Criticism of the conduct of the existing political parties.
2. The appointment and dismissal of cabinet ministers.
3. Relation of the political parties to the state.
4. The strict maintenance of party disciplines.

1. Ito's criticism of the conduct of the existing political parties showed clearly their weak points, although he recognized cheerfully the advance that had been made by them during the previous ten years of constitutional government. "To speak frankly", says Ito to the manifesto, "it has for some years been a source of profound regret to me to observe a tendency on the part of the existing political parties to be betrayed in words and deeds which are at variance with the principles laid down in the constitution and which indicates a proneness to sacrifice national for private interests, and which, moreover, are antagonistic to the fundamental national policy decided upon by His Imperial Majesty at the time of the glorious Restoration in unison with the requirements of the universal progress achieved." He continues; "the lamentable consequence is that the conduct of these parties leaves much to be desired in regard to the maintenance of the honour and good name of the Empire abroad and to the acquisition of the confidence and trust of the people at home." (2)

(1) Seiyu Kwai Sengensho.

(2) The Japan Times, August 1900.

3. As to the appointment and dismissal of cabinet ministers, the manifesto held to the principle of absolute freedom upon the part of the sovereign to select his advisers from whatever quarters He deems proper, whether from among the members of political parties or from outside those parties. "When once ministers," runs the manifesto, "have been appointed and invested with their respective official functions, it is not under any circumstance whatever desirable for their fellow party men or their other political friends to interfere in any manner with the discharge of their duties; and any failure to grasp this fundamental principle, would be fatal to the proper and efficient management of important affairs of state and might lead to an unseemly struggle for political power, thus engendering evils and abuses unpeakable.⁽¹⁾ This statement from the manifesto seems at first glance, to indicate that Ito was opposed to party government, but this is an error. The manifesto simply advocated the absolute freedom of the sovereign to select his advisers, but did not mention even a word on the relation between the cabinet and the Diet. The Japanese⁽¹⁾ constitution clearly makes it the duty of the respective ministers of state to give their advice to the Emperor, and to order that the ministers of state may perform their duty, they must be in harmony with the majority of the Diet. When the Ito cabinet found it an impossibility to help in harmony with the majority of the Kenseito in the Lower House, Ito recommended that Okuma and Itagaki form a cabinet to succeed him. Hence it can be seen that it was not Ito's idea to oppose party cabinet.

3. Concerning the relation of political parties to the state, the manifesto advocated the advanced idea that a political party

(1) Ibid.

(2) Article 55.

ought to make it its primary object to devote its whole energies to the public weal. In order to put life into the administrative machinery of the country, the manifesto claimed it a necessity that administrative officials should be recruited under a system of definite qualification. "It is absolutely necessary", says the manifesto, "that caution should be taken to avoid falling into the fatal mistake of giving official posts to men of doubtful qualifications, simply because they belong to a particular political party." Knowing the weak points of the yenseito and its corruption, the Marquis says, "In no case should the support of a political party be given for the promotion of any partial interests or in response to consideration of local character or under the corrupting influence of interested persons. There cautions of (1) it were intended to sweep away the ob^uusive practices of receiving bribes and the evils of party office seeking.

As to the strict maintenance of party discipline, the Marquis spoke as follows:-- "If a political party aims, as it should aim, at being a guide for the people, it must first commence with maintaining strict discipline and order in its own ranks and above all, with shaping its own conduct with an absolute and sincere (2) devotion to the public interests of the country.

As has already been stated the manifesto of Marquis Ito contained a high statesmanlik ideas and showed how strong was his ambition to reform all evils and abolish corruption of the existing parties. The idea of the re-construction of political parties as expressed in the manifesto shows that he has a profound and extensive knowledge of political science.

The principles of the Seiyu Kwai, which were drawn up by

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

It is simply a commentary on the manifesto. They are briefly
 (1)
 as follows:

1. We propose dutifully to guard the constitution of the Empire, and in accordance with its provision, to perfect the working of the sovereign power, and thrust conduct important national affairs, and preserve the rights and liberties of individual subjects.
2. We aim to advance the prosperity and civilization of the country bearing in mind the grand Imperial policy inaugurated at the time of the Restoration.
3. We desire to secure the harmonious working of the administrative machinery and to preserve the equity and justice of its action.
4. We shall endeavor to cultivate friendship of foreign powers.
5. We propose to maintain strong national defences within limits justified by national resources.
6. We propose to encourage education and develop the national character.
7. We propose to strengthen the economic basis of national life by the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, navigation and facilitation of communication.
8. We propose to establish better local self-government.

The ceremony of inauguration of the Seiyu Kwai took place at the Imperial Hotel on September 15, 1900. At this meeting Ito urged the carrying out of the policies and aims which were laid down in his recent manifesto and principles, which would require the hearty co-operation and support of his fellow members of the association.

(1) Seiyu Kwai Koryo.

The organization of the Seiyu Kwai was looked upon as a step toward in the political progress of Japan, because Ito had a national reputation, and held the absolute confidence of the people.

The prominent members of the new party, who had distinguished themselves before as statesmen, financiers and administrators gave confidence to the people, and even the statesmen of the Sat-Cho clans did not show any signs of displeasure. The vival leader, Count Okuma said that "one of the clan statesmen has shown the progress of the nation by accepting party influence as inevitable."

The most distinctive characteristic of the new party was the existence of the absolute power of Ito, the founder of the party. Okuma and Itagaki formed political parties, but they never issued the manifesto and principles in their own names as was done by Ito in the name of the party. Not only were the principles and manifesto drawn up by him, but he was also given power to amend them. The members were required to follow his command. Likewise, according to the Seiyu Kwai, the power to appoint the general commissioners and secretaries and to call meeting was entirely in the hands of Ito. Kure, the Seiyu Kwai was the political party of Ito, not its members. It had been Ito's ambition to be able to say of the Seiyu Kwai, "c'est moi." It was his party as Louis XIV of France controlled his subjects. Why did Ito refuse to join the Kenseito (old Jiyuto) when the general commissioners of the Kenseito invited him to enter their party as its leader? He thought it would be impossible to manage the party under the limitation of traditions and customs, which were of long standing if he joined it. Having such views, Ito formed the Seiyu Kwai.

The majority of the members of this party joined it think-

ing Ito to be the most advanced and successful statesman of Japan, and believing that through his efforts the development of political parties and the gratification of their own political ambitions would be easily realized. Some went to the Seiyu Kwai, not for the sake of its manifesto and principles, but simply on account of political friendship with Ito. Some joined it, not because they liked it, but just because they hated to join any of the existing parties, the Kensei Honto or the Keikokuto. The Seiyu Kwai included among its members men of ultra-conservative views and men of ultra-radical ideas.

The appearance of the Seiyu Kwai under the leadership of Ito led to the resignation of the Yamagata cabinet, and on October 19, 1900, Ito formed his cabinet almost entirely on party lines, it being the first cabinet formed exclusively by a single party. The political situation received approval throughout the country, but it was thought at the time that the despotic power of the Hombatsu was finally broken and the control of the government transferred into the hands of political parties, but Ito's cabinet did not last long, and Japan is again under control of the Hombatsu.

CHAPTER X.

PARTY METHODS AND PRACTICES.

Political parties are perhaps more perfectly organized in the United States than in any other country in the world. Japanese parties have little or no organization as compared with parties in the United States. The development of a perfect form of organization must be the result of long experience as the history of political parties in the United States shows. Almost a century of growth and adaptation has been necessary to bring form in that country. As for Japan it has been but a little over ten years since the election of the first Diet. Consequently, political parties are yet in their infancy.

Each party maintains a central head office in Tokio and branch offices in the prefectures. The officials of the head office consist of a leader, several commissioners and secretaries. The leader controls all the affairs of the party, while the duty of the commissioners is to assist him in the administration of party affairs. Each party holds an annual grand meeting in Tokio just before the opening of the Diet. The meeting is attended by the active and ex-members of the Diet, and by from two to four delegates from each prefecture. At this meeting a leader and commissioners are elected except in the case of the Seiyu Kwai which I have already mentioned in the previous chapter. A statement of the financial condition of the party is also made at this meeting and important party issues which are to be presented in the coming session of the Diet are discussed. Besides the annual party meeting the active members of the Diet belonging to each party also hold a meeting just before the opening of the Diet to prepare and discuss party measures and

(1) Rules of the Seiyu Kwai art. 1. Rules of the Kenseito art. 1.

(2) Rules of the Seiyu Kwai, art. 2. Rules of the Kenseito, art. 3, 4.

(3) Rules of the Seiyu Kwai arts. 6, 7. Rules of the Kenseito,

arts. 7, 11, 12.

(1)
policies.

The organization of the branch office is more simple. Its officials consist of commissioners who take charge of all the affairs of the office. These commissioners and the delegates to the annual grand meeting are chosen at the meeting of prefecture.⁽³⁾ So far as the organization of the head office and the branch offices is concerned political parties have made remarkable progress in Japan since the establishment of the Diet but with respect to the nominating system, there is still room for much improvement.

In the opinion of prominent political thinkers,⁽³⁾ there are four methods whereby candidates may be brought before electors. In the first method some men are voted for to fill places of dignity of responsibility, because of their acknowledged superiority in private and public life. The second method is where electors of influential men put forward a candidate, by commending him to the electors. The third method were an individual offer himself as a candidate for office. The fourth method is where the candidate is brought before the electors, "by the people themselves i.e. by the members of a party, assembled in mass meeting or acting through their representatives in a convention."

Since the first opening of the Japanese Diet, eight elections for members of Lower House have occurred. Frequent elections have offered an opportunity of testing all these methods of securing candidates. In the first two or three elections, a majority of the candidates were brought before the electors by the first and second methods. The first method, however, gradually

(1) Rules of the Seiyu Kwai art. 8. Rules of the Kenseito Art. 13.

(2) Rules of the Seiyu Kwai art. 7. Rules of the Kenseito, art. 11.

(3) Bryce, American Commonwealth, vol. 11. P. 77. Gadkin, Unforeseen Tendencies, P. 51.

fell into disuse, because of increasing corruption of Japanese statesmen as well the electors. In later elections, the third method came into use and candidates offered themselves for office.

A method somewhat similar to the fourth was introduced (1) by Marquis Ito in the election for member of the Lower House 1902. According to this plan, each branch office of the Seiyu Kwai shall organize a nominating committee which consists of prominent party members in the prefecture but it is provided that members of the committee shall not become candidates. As soon as the candidates are nominated, the committee is required to send a statement of the nomination to the head office at Tokio. These candidates are to be approved by the general committee composed of the commissioners of the head office, and if any new candidate is proposed, the general committee reserves the right of making full investigation and of refusing to endorse the nomination. It was in order to carry out a progressive policy that Ito introduced this new system, but the plan has never been successfully carried out. It seems practicable, but the majority of the party did not consider it so and received it very coolly. At the present time, the second and third methods of nomination are generally prevalent, i.e. a candidate nominates himself, or a circle of influential men put forward a candidate recommending him to the electors.

Having discussed the nominating systems, I shall now consider the methods of conducting the election campaign. A candidate is not left wholly to his own resources in conducting his campaign no matter whether he nominates himself, or is put forward by a circle of his friends. Some time before the election, the candidate and his friends form a campaign head committee and several

(1) Election Notice of Ito.

branch committees in his district. The candidate acts as leader of the head committee while his personal friends and prominent men of the localities conduct the affairs of the branch committees. The committees visit both friendly and doubtful voters, and even voters opposing parties and appeal to them to vote for their candidate.

In addition to the canvassing conducted by the committees, and candidate himself frequently visits each voter in the district, and requests his support at the polls. In the rural districts, however, this canvassing by the candidate is not resorted to very extensively because of the great labor involved in visiting individual voters. But in the urban districts, it is considered indispensable. On the whole, it would seem that personal canvassing by the candidate is of great importance in a country like Japan, where the representative system has been but lately established and where political convictions still count for little or nothing with the great masses of the voters.

Besides the canvassing of the branch committees and the candidate, the most important agencies are public meeting, and distribution of political literature and appeals through the press. Since the adoption of the new election law in 1900, public meetings have become more and more popular, and important. At the public meeting, the candidate explains and defends his political policies. His success depends, especially, if he is a new candidate, upon the effectiveness of his speaking.

It has been customary for the parties to send out to the various districts distinguished orators from the head offices in Tokio to support party candidates in public meeting. The orators imported from Tokio, who are always very prominent men attract great attention. They are carefully instructed as to the policies

to be advocated and the points against which an attack should be directed.

Next to public meetings, the most important method is the distribution of political literature, relating to the candidate and his views. The committees distribute this literature gratuitously at public meetings, and frequently send it through the mails to the voters. In the United States and England, the distribution of political literature is an old practice, but has only recently been introduced into Japan by the more progressive statesmen.

The last agency employed in the campaign is the public press. Newspapers are freely distributed to the voters. Local papers are frequently sold to candidates for the purpose of advertising their candidacy.

Having described party organization, nominations, and campaign methods, I shall now take up the matter of corruption in elections. Of all the elections for members of the House of Representatives since the opening of the Diet, there is not one that has been carried with complete honesty and without complaint of corruption. More or less bribery was practiced in each election. Comparatively,
(1)
only one election out of seven since 1890 has been conducted with any degree of honesty. There are three methods of bribery in elections in Japan. The first is to give a sum of money to an active local worker, who undertakes to bring up a certain number of voters. The second method is to give money to each voter, and the third to distribute sums of money to different localities for their common benefits provided a certain number of votes are secure. In order to remedy corrupt practices in elections secret voting was introduced by the ballot act of 1900. But the election of 1903 was no more pure in spite of the application of secret voting; and that of 1903

(1) Election of 1890.

surpassed it in bribery. It became more and more common for even rich voters not to cast their ballots except for some reward.

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The corruption in elections may be traced to three causes:

1. The failure of electors to appreciate the meaning and importance of the ballot;
2. The dishonesty of candidates and also to appreciate the true purpose of the ballot;
3. The determination of the government not to reform the corrupt practices in elections, but rather to encourage them.

In representative governments the final judges of important political questions are the electors. The majority of electors in Japan do not understand the true nature of ballot. "The ballot is not a personal privilege, it is a public trust." Has a voter right to misuse a public trust for personal ends? "A man is at the ballot box, as he is in the jury box, in a public, not a private capacity. In neither case is he at liberty to arbitrarily use his voice for personal ends." Candidates are to be blamed for the use of money. Voters have been taught the lessons of corruption by them. Candidates have generally been men who stood high in education and intelligence, it has been their duty, therefore, to teach electors that selling of votes is a political crime, but they have not done so. It is said that, during the last few elections, illicit expenditures incurred by candidates has surpassed that of former elections. It has been roughly estimated that such expenditures in

(1) Taiyo, vol. 1X, no. 4, P. 49.

(2) Mills, Science of Politics, P. 45.

(3) Mills, op. cit. P. 45.

the election of 1902 and 1903 reached nearly five million yen. The government has the power to suppress this corruption but it has not done so. On the contrary, the government has been the main promoter of corruption. There are laws enough against bribery in elections in Japan, but "laws against bribery are of (1) the nature of the Pope's bull against the comet."

Where some are ready to buy and others to sell, bribery goes on just the same. In order to remedy the prevailing corruption, it is necessary to promote political education amongst the whole people, for a "high level of knowledge and intelligence are the most important conditions of the healthy working of representative (2) institutions."

(1) North American Review vol. 136, P. 21'.

(2) Lecky, Democracy and Liberty, vol. 1. P. 91.

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